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R. H. Patterson, Esq., C. Borthwick, Esq., C. S. Bailey, Esq., J. Lawson, Esq., J. G. Faught, Esq., M.R.C.S., Rev. J. Mason, W. G. Smith, Esq., E. Bellamy, Esq.

The following list of presents was announced as having been received:—

De Luc, Histoire de la Terre; Wafers' Voyage in America; Le-guat's Aventures; Klivius, Iter Subterraneum (T. Bendyshe, Esq.). Millot, L'Art de procréer les sexes à volonté; Dr. Sext, Exposition of the Mysteries of Nature (H. Partridge, Esq.). Choir Gaur (a work on Stonehenge); Model of Stonehenge (Captain A. C. Tupper). T. Seymour Burt, Esq., F.R.S., Miscellaneous papers on Scientific Subjects (the Author). Eloge de Pierre Gratiolet, by Dr. Paul Bert (M. Pruner-Bey). Berghaus, Physikalischer Hand Atlas; Nieuw Guinea (with Atlas) (T. Bendyshe, Esq.). Charnock, Handbook to Spain and Portugal (the Author). Vrolik, Catalogue de la Collection d'Anatomie (Professor Van der Hoeven). Annotations on Sacred Writings of Hindüs (G. Sellon, Esq.). Scudder and Capron on Megalithic Cysts (the Authors). Bust of Capt. R. F. Burton, V.P.A.S.L. (D. Gay, Esq.).

THE PRESIDENT said the members of the Society might congratulate themselves on the election of thirty-six Fellows since their last meeting, and he wished to announce that notice had been given to the council of the intention to propose an admission fee of three guineas for future members, therefore those who wished to introduce new members should do so at once. No time had been named when such admission fee should be charged, but it was proposed to discuss the question at the next anniversary. He would only say that some members of the council were anxious that a higher fee than three guineas should be charged before that time. The President also stated that it was desirable that papers should be prepared for the next meeting of the British Association, which papers, if not read at that meeting, would be read at a special congress of anthropologists, to be held at the same time and place as the Association. He then called on Mr. Burnard Owen to read the paper of which notice had been given.

Missionary Successes and Negro Converts. By H. BURNARD OWEN, F.R.S.L., F.R.G.S., F.A.S.L.

THE paper which, with your permission, I lay before the Society this evening, has for its subject "Missionary Successes and Negro Converts". Perhaps I may be allowed to make a brief prefatory remark in reference to a statement made in a recent number of a London paper, viz., that I have been in communication with the Bishop of this Diocese, and some of the missionary societies. I can only say that this is an error. I have neither sought nor had the honour of any communication with his Lordship, nor am I the representative of any missionary body. For the statements of my paper I solely am responsible, as it emanated from myself alone.

Few subjects of late years have engaged greater attention than the

condition of the negro. Intellectually, morally, and physically has he been dissected, the subject alike of discussion and dissent with nations and philosophers; and when at last he had been left with, in the opinion of many, scarcely an attribute to raise him above the brute creation—some having almost questioned if he had a soul to save—we are told the discovery has been made that he is not suited to the reception of Christianity, especially as propounded by African missionaries. No reason is assigned for this; but the assertion, with many others of a similar kind, is made in a paper recently read before this Society by Mr. Winwood Reade, who gives forth to the world, in no hesitating or diffident language, the result of his African experiences.

The brief residence of five months amidst the scenes he describes, might scarcely, in the opinion of some, qualify Mr. Reade for the task he has undertaken of correcting our views as to the working of African missions; but when we find his statements are corroborated by Captain Burton and Mr. R. B. Walker, the latter of whom has resided for fourteen years on the coast, we are induced to examine more carefully the grounds upon which these gentlemen have formed their opinions, and considered themselves authorised to pronounce missionary labours as useless.

It would have been more candid, had Mr. Reade, Captain Burton, or Mr. Walker informed us at the outset from what point of view they had sketched their picture of African life and manners; which recognised creed, if any, claimed the honour of their membership; or whether, like the “free thinking trader”, they “bothered their heads” about none at all, satisfied to believe alone in themselves.

Certainly the Baptists cannot safely reckon upon Mr. Walker as one of the pillars of their church; and the Wesleyans would see little reason for accepting either Captain Burton or Mr. Reade as the exponents of their polity.

The sum and substance of Mr. Reade’s paper (I regret I cannot call it argument) may be briefly stated as endeavouring to show, first, that the effort to Christianise the negro had proved “a wretched bubble”, resulting in manufacturing the male converts into thieves and liars, and the female into prostitutes; secondly, that the Christian missionaries had entirely failed in making any real converts; leaving us the inference that the negro, owing to some hitherto unknown peculiarity, is not adapted for the reception of Christian tenets except in a Mohammedan form. As apart from the question at issue, I shall not attempt to discuss what Mohammedanism is or is not; but to its practical workings I shall refer hereafter. To the labours of the Baptists and Wesleyans I shall with pleasure refer, for they can render a good account of their stewardship, African as well as American negroes attesting their proud success in the battle with paganism. Upon the labours of the Church of England missionary I shall more particularly enlarge, and I am bold enough to believe I can, in the case of all three denominations, adduce such testimony as will effectually disprove the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Reade.

The first consideration that occurs to us, is the condition in which we find the negro; and certainly in no part of the habitable globe can we rest our eyes upon a more dreary or unpromising field than that in which the evangelist has to sow his seed. Ages of degeneration and barbarism, without one enlightening example, have reduced these wretched creatures to that state in which the learned look upon them as only the link between man and the brute; in which even civilised inhabitants of this Christian land could, without repugnance or remorse, traffic in their bodies as freely as they would have bartered the cattle that stocked their fields. Then to increase, if possible, the debasement of this degraded race, for four hundred years the slave-dealer pursued his unholy calling, engrafting upon pagan ignorance and sensuality the worst abominations of his own European civilisation, and, in exchange for the slaves he carried to distant lands, leaving with his gold a train of vices behind him, whose enormity would be incredible, were it not, alas! for too many well authenticated records of their existence.*

No single idea in their degraded superstition furnishes a foundation on which a purer faith might be erected. Their belief in a Supreme Being is too vague or too erroneous to avail in the instruction sought to be conveyed. They have some notion of the spirituality of the soul, but held with others utterly incompatible with a correct idea of its immateriality; nor do they appear to have a just conception of its immortality.† The most salient features in their religion are the powers of the Evil Spirit and his ministers, whose protection or forbearance must be obtained by incantations or sacrifices, not alone of animals, but even of human beings.‡ They look upon their fetishes or charms as the securest means of preservation,§ and they cling to this idea with the greatest tenacity. It is a curious feature in connection with the boasted success of Mohammedanism, that the converts of that sect still adhere to their ancient custom, and the sale of these greengreases is to the teacher of that faith a fruitful source of gain.||

It was in this most unpromising sphere that the missionary commenced his labours; and, as if circumstances were not already sufficiently discouraging, he met on every hand jealousy and opposition, the last culminating, "at the instigation of the slave-dealer, in the destruction by fire of the churches, schools, and stores"¶ erected with such toil, and cemented with the life-blood of their builders. Nor was this all. When the missionary, despite oppositions, dangers, and persecutions, had gathered around him those whom he fondly hoped would be the nucleus and seeds of that Church which should evangelize and civilize the great region of Tropical Africa, he found his efforts foiled by European example and European means. What

* East's Western Africa, p. 229.

† Beecham's Ashantee and the Gold Coast, pp. 182, 183.

‡ African Missions, No. 1, p. 23.

§ Walker's Missions in Western Africa, p. 13.

|| East's Western Africa, p. 114.

¶ African Missions, No. 1, p. 21.

availed it that he should preach chastity and purity, when his fellow-countrymen scoffed at both, and practised neither; when the Bible that he presented was met by the rum-bottle of the trader, whose whole life was a violation of those laws which the missionary inculcated, and whose example was such, that well might the heathen exclaim, "Why preach to us, or expect us to believe, when your own countrymen refuse to receive the message you bear, or to live by the rules you lay down!"

To spiritual blindness and mental ignorance add a pestilential climate, and you have a faint picture of the obstacles in the path of civilization.

Let us now look to results, and the harvest gathered from this unpromising field.

Prior to 1816 the missionary efforts had been feeble, and, from want of funds and teachers, totally inadequate to the great work they had undertaken. Their attention had hitherto been directed to some scattered tribes on the coast; but in that year they wisely decided to make the colony of Sierra Leone the scene of their labours, and from this centre they trusted the rays of enlightenment might be more effectually diffused for the benefit of the whole of Africa.* The colony of Sierra Leone especially called for their labours. It was here that the liberated negroes, representatives of upwards of one hundred different tribes and languages, might be brought under a milder influence than that which had hitherto regulated their actions, and returning to their distant homes, might carry back with them that knowledge which alone could make them wise. Agreeably to the plan of Sir Charles M'Carthy, districts were allotted, with missionaries for each.

Of the progress made in three short years, we may judge from the letter of a lady, who, writing from Regent Town in April 1819, says: "I could not believe it possible that so glorious a progress could have been made as we have beheld. The love which the people manifest among themselves, their anxiety to make known the Gospel to others, and the fervour of their prayers, are worthy the admiration of all Christians. They may almost be said to dwell in love; a dispute is seldom known amongst them; every one has cast off his greegree, and nearly all are become worshippers. Once naked savages, they are now all decently dressed, and flock together in crowds to the house of prayer. . . . Gree-grees are no more to be had in Regent. I have endeavoured to get some to send to friends in England, but have searched in vain."†

We are also told the negroes have become industrious, and skilled so far in various trades, as masons, carpenters, tailors, blacksmiths, etc., that upwards of six hundred maintain themselves, "relieving the government from all expense on their personal account." Many of their heathenish customs have been forsaken; "not an oath had been heard in the town for a twelvemonth, nor had any been seen drunk; attendance on public worship is regular and large, on an average 1,200 or

* African Missions, No. 1, p. 21.

† Mrs. Kesty's Letter, W. A. Johnson's Life, pp. 169 and 166.

1,300 negroes.”* The schools had proportionately increased, and numbered over five hundred scholars. In the same year, the Government Report† records the improvement which had taken place. In 1821, Sir C. M’Carthy declares, that to the indefatigable exertions and virtuous zeal of the superintendents and missionaries, are attributable the civilization of the liberated negroes.‡

The improvement at the schools of the different towns was noticed by Major Gray, who says that the progress of the students, particularly those of the high school at Regent’s Town, in arithmetic, geography, and history, evinced a capacity far superior to that generally attributed to the negro.§

The Report of the year 1822 is equally favourable. The Chief Justice of Sierra Leone, at the September quarter sessions, observed “That ten years ago, when the population was only 4000, forty cases were in the calendar for trial, now the population is upwards of 16,000, there are only six. It is remarkable that not a single case for trial is from any of the villages under the superintendence of a missionary or schoolmaster.”|| At these quarter sessions some of the liberated Africans sat as jurors, “to the entire satisfaction of those concerned.”¶ The reports of the African Institution for 1821, 1822, and 1823, and other public documents, all speak favourably of the progress commercially and morally.**

In a report of a committee of the House of Commons in 1842, we find unequivocal testimony to the exertions of the missionary, both Episcopalian and Wesleyan, and the visible intellectual, moral, and religious improvement.

Dr. Livingstone, writing in 1858, describes the Sabbath to be as well observed, in his opinion, as anywhere in Scotland. He says, “Looking at the change effected among the people, and comparing the masses here with what we find at parts along the coast, where the benign influences of Christianity have had no effect, ‘the man’ even ‘who has no nonsense about him’ would be obliged to confess that England had done some good by her philanthropy, aye, and an amount of good that will look grand in the eyes of posterity.”††

Does not testimony such as this, from sources so unquestionably above suspicion, effectually disprove the assertion, “that the effort to Christianise the negro had proved a wretched bubble.” Can these people, declared to be sober, industrious, and practically religious, susceptible of intellectual, moral, and religious improvement, be the prostitutes and thieves Mr. Reade would lead us to believe?

My own opportunities of judging of negro character, and the influence of religion on those brought under its teachings, enable me to affirm without hesitation that the work of conversion is neither uncertain nor merely nominal. Though I do not pre-

* Walker’s Sierra Leone, p. 66. + P. 133.

† Walker’s Sierra Leone, p. 139. § Fox’s Wesleyan Missions, p. 185.

|| Fox’s Wesleyan Missions, p. 188.

¶ Ibid. Fergusson’s Letter on the Character of the Liberated Africans at Sierra Leone, 1839, p. 13.

** Fox, p. 187.

†† Letter to Sir Roderick Murchison, March 30th, 1858.

tend that every negro is an Uncle Tom, around whom English readers have been too apt to throw a shade of romance, and draw a picture very unlike the reality; yet I have seen proofs of such real spiritual enlightenment, such a persistent rectitude of principle and practice as would not only shame many a white professor of religion, but would at once convince the most sceptical that these negroes could not only receive but retain, and that too under severe trials and temptations, the lessons of the Gospel. The docility, gentleness, and humility of the negro have been severely tested by years of oppression, which would have aroused in the prouder and more revengeful European a widely different feeling than that which governed the manumitted slaves of our West India Islands, who could and did repay the past ill-treatment of their old masters by dedicating to them the results of their first week of free labour.

The case of Bishop Crowther is an effectual refutation of the assertion that the native African is incapable of being raised to a very high standard of intellectual advancement. Does the request of another native minister (the Rev. G. Nichol) betray incapacity for education? He desired a friend to send him from England some books, foremost on the list of which was Alford's *Greek Testament*, next an Arabic Lexicon, Maunders's *Treasury of Universal Knowledge*, Maunders's *Biographical Treasury*, Melville's *Sermons*, Spurgeon's *Sermons*, etc.

To the Church Missionary Society he applies for two first-rate university men to superintend the studies of the African theological students, adding, "It will not do to send men of ordinary capacity now-a-days; our students are too well taught in their Greek Testament not to catch their professor tripping if he displays insufficient knowledge."* That this assertion is not unfounded the Freetown Grammar School examinations in 1859 conclusively show. The governor, expressing his astonishment at the intelligence of the pupils—"I had no idea that you had such youths," he said; "they can learn anything."† The intelligence and quickness of the negro child is very great.

One writer cites the case of the mission-schools on the Coast of Africa as affording ample evidence, "In the short space of ten months several Timanee children have learnt to write and read fluently, not one of whom had previously seen a book." Nor is this a solitary case. It may safely be affirmed that there is not a single efficiently conducted mission school on the whole of the western continent which does not furnish similar instances; nor is this aptness to learn confined to the more elementary branches of knowledge."‡ The same remarks are also applicable to negro schools in Jamaica.§ The quickness with which they learn has been described as amazing;|| as well as their ability to acquire anything that requires attention and correctness of manner. The Rev. J. Ramsay, in his *Essay on the*

* African Missions, No. 1, pp. 34, 35.

† Church Missionary Society's Report, 1859.

‡ East's Western Africa, p. 104.

§ Ibid., p. 325.

|| Beechman's Ashantee and the Gold Coast, p. 266.

Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves,* says that "Nothing in the turn or degree of their mental faculties distinguishes them from Europeans." A statement fully borne out by other competent judges.† Duncan, in his *Travels in Western Africa in 1845 and 1846*, expresses his belief "that were Africans educated, and their morals properly attended to, they would become an example to countries who have for centuries enjoyed the advantages of civilisation;"‡ but that the counteracting influences are great, for the pupils, "when out of school and mixed up with the uneducated population are exposed to every vice in practice." The African, convinced of his ignorance, is as anxious to receive as the missionary is to impart instruction;§ mothers overcoming their religious prejudices in the desire to obtain for their children that information of which they themselves are destitute.

I have alluded in the first part of this paper to the obstacles thrown in the way of the missionary by his own countrymen, not least among which is the importation of spirits. In the year 1841, according to the returns laid before the Parliamentary Committee on Western Africa there were exported to Senegal, Sierra Leone, Windward, and Gold Coasts 101,424 gallons of spirits alone, and this independently of the various kinds produced in the country, will enable us to form some idea of the grounds for the complaint of the missionary, that his difficulties are not solely of an African origin. The merchants not only import, but they assist in the consumption of these spirits by gratuities of liquors before they commence their trading. In this respect, at least, I must admit that the precepts of Mohammedan teachers (though even in this instance there are exceptions) are better than the practices of the mis-named Christian merchant. We must not, however, be led away by the idea that the Mohammedan priest is always governed by the law of which he is the representative; for, as Major Gray remarks, in reference to the kingdom of Bondu, the enactments of the Prophet are interpreted by the Imans or priests, who, being much under the power of the king, decide, in all cases where his majesty's interest is concerned, in his favour. Neither must we suppose that the doctrines of the Koran are received intact. Many of the pagan superstitions of the country are everywhere, in a greater or less degree, blended with them,|| whilst the evidence of Captain Clapperton and Major Gray shows that, as with the Felátas and people of Bondu, those brought under its teachings, whilst they keep up the appearance of religion outwardly, have little of its inward influence.

* P. 246.

† Vide Rev. Richard Watson's Works, vol. ii, pp. 94, 95; Prichard's Researches into the Physical History of Mankind, vol. ii, pp. 347, 348, etc.

‡ Vol. ii, p. 303.

§ In a letter to Sir T. D. Acland from Captain Trotter of the Niger expedition, the writer states: "In my late visit to the Niger, both chiefs and people called loudly to have instruction sent to them. Their consciousness of their own inferiority, combined with a desire for improvement and knowledge, was very remarkable."

|| East's Western Africa, p. 123.

Whilst upon the subject of Mohammedanism and its boasted adaptation for the African, I cannot refrain from giving the opinions of some travellers fully informed upon the subject of which they were treating.

In a country where, upon the oft-quoted computation of Park (and which is said to be rather under than over the truth), three-fourths of the entire population are in slavery, it would be fancied that no extraneous aid was needed to extend the system. But we find that Mohammedanism is an active principle in this as in other cases of mischief, for "that religion," to quote the words of Major Gray, "not only gives an apparently divine authority to the practice, but instils into the minds of its proselytes a conviction that all who are not, or will not become, Mohammedans, were intended by Providence and their Prophet to be the slaves and property of those who do."

The Mohammedan teachers have been described as "the agents of perpetual mischief to the best interests of the people," whilst for proofs of their ignorance and imposture, I would refer those who feel an interest in the subject, or may be inclined to doubt the justice of, to *Sketches of a Missionary's Travels*, by the Rev. M. Macbriar, a Wesleyan missionary, or to the *African Memoranda* of Captain Beaver.

Mr. Baker, Wesleyan missionary, speaking of the inhabitants of the Gambia, charges Mohammedanism with having "made the people of that district the worst of men—utterly debased in their morals." Numerous other authorities can be cited in support of these assertions.

As I believe Mr. Reade is the only one who entertains the idea that the African is in any way benefited by polygamy, it might perhaps be deemed unnecessary to discuss the point, but as I have within the last few days received a communication from the Rev. J. F. Schön, a missionary of the Church Missionary Society, who has spent sixteen years on the West Coast of Africa, it may not be uninteresting to give his opinion upon the subject.

"Mr. Reade maintains," writes Mr. Schön, "that in Africa polygamy is the natural state of married man, and that he is warned by *instinct* never to abandon it. I reply, in the first place, that even in countries where polygamy is sanctioned, *there are more men that have but one wife than there are that have many. Many have abandoned it voluntarily from the conviction of its unsuitableness to them as human beings, not only as Christians.* Mr. Reade admits that polygamy would not do for England, because 'it would produce a frightful excess of population, while monogamy in Africa would exterminate the negro.' This argument is altogether fallacious. Monogamy is more favourable to the increase of population than polygamy. Polygamy is unnatural even in Africa; for there too it will be found that the sexes are in equal proportions, and that the excess, if any, is rather in favour of the male sex. Whence then are *four* women to come for one man? And if there be some who have many wives, there must be others who cannot get one. That such is the fact I have ascertained from many persons, and from various countries. The King of

Port Lokkok had upwards of one hundred wives, as he told me, and when I asked him how many children, he replied, about seventy or eighty—he could not mention the exact number.

“The number of children is certainly large for one man, but is it large considering the number of wives? Would not the children have been much more numerous if each woman had been married to one man? King Obi, at Aboh, showed me an immense building, fitted like a sheep-fold, for his wives, and told me he had one hundred and ten; but on being asked how many children, he replied twelve.

“Mr. Reade wishes to make us believe that ‘the wives especially were furious’ at the very idea of abolishing polygamy. If he had any knowledge of domestic life in Africa, of the miseries to which women are subjected through this unnatural institution, he would never have made this assertion. How many of these unhappy creatures are annually put to death by their tyrants (husbands they ought not to be called, because they have not married, but bought or captured them) on account of real or suspected infidelity? How many men are prevented from marrying on account of the scarcity of women? How many men are castrated in most of the royal towns in Africa.* The King of Idda had a great number of these fat eunuchs about his court, and some of our men could not be prevailed upon to visit his town for fear of being subjected to the same indignity. What is the chief burden of their national traditions, proverbs and stories, but to relate the jealousies, discords, and domestic quarrels between the many wives of one man, and the straits to which himself and his offspring are reduced by this unnatural institution. I have a great many such stories in my possession, related to me in their own languages, and they have often been used with good effect against the advocates of polygamy.

“I am convinced in my own mind, and from personal observation, that there is nothing in the case of polygamy in Africa that will not yield to the light of Christianity. Christianity has abolished it wherever it has been introduced.”

On inquiry, I think it can be easily found that the negro in a state of nature is far more addicted to theft and drunkenness than can be justly charged upon the Christian converts; and though we find in ancient laws of some of the tribes severe penalties attaching to crimes, yet they do not appear to have had the same salutary effect as the milder persuasive plan of Christianity.† The picture of Timanee character drawn by Major Laing is assuredly far from a pleasant one.

Some of the ancient laws of the African tribes, if not powerful enough to prevent crime, were at least framed to punish it. In Yoruba an unchaste young woman is branded with disgrace, and her character

* Surely no castrations would ever have been performed, had it not been to remedy the great difference in the number of the sexes caused by several wives being held by one man.—H. B. O.

† East's Western Africa, p. 69.

suffers for ever. Adultery is fined with a heavy sum of cowries. Murder is punished with death. Manslaughter, even if attended as an accident, may escape with a heavy fine. Serious theft punished with death; petty, with whipping and fine; if habitual, liable to be sold away out of the country;* whilst the conduct of children towards their parents might with advantage be imitated in this country.

Let us now consider the results of missionary labours at the different stations, and that regard was had to real and not nominal conversions is shown by the fact, that at Sierra Leone nearly thirteen years elapsed before they could report more than the baptism of one convert; they were "strongly inclined to believe that the whole of the heathen population of the colony *would press to the baptismal font, if we would receive them there on the understanding that baptism is of all gree-grees the best.*"† In 1816, the first admitted communicants numbered only six;‡ in 1848 the West African mission could point to 2000 as the fruits of their toil.§ And here it may not be amiss for me strongly to impress the different plan of action pursued by the Romish and the Protestant Churches. With the first an inward conviction of sin and sense of their spiritual necessities was not material—as long as the body was in the ranks of the Church it cared little as to the soul. With the Protestant Churches, I speak not of the Episcopal alone, the endeavour was made to bring home to the understanding and the heart of the savage the lessons and hopes of the Gospel; and when, as far as human judgment could decide, such an impression had been made, producing such a conversion as authorised the admission, the proselyte was formally received into membership. How marked the contrast alike in the numbers and results of Romish and Protestant conversions in Africa.

In 1490 the Catholic missionaries had free scope allowed for their exertions in Congo, so that 100,000 of the subjects of that kingdom are related to have been baptized in one day!|| Every thing was auspicious for the establishment of the faith, yet dwindling gradually away, the natives reverted to the paganism they had abandoned only in name, and for many years past not the least vestige of this "holy Catholic faith" has been found on the banks of the Zaire;¶ whilst the Protestant Church has, on the contrary, been year by year extending its usefulness and its influence, widening its ramifications on every side.

Commercial prosperity kept pace with the extension of Christianity. The amount of merchandize imported into the colony of Sierra Leone in 1817 exceeded that of the previous year by £39,286. Every part of the coast from Sierra Leone to the Gaboon can boldly proclaim the success of missionary enterprise. It is unnecessary to detail each step of the journey, but the statistics of results speak for themselves.

* Hutchinson's Impressions of Western Africa, Letter from Rev. S. Crowther, p. 276.

† Walker's Sierra Leone, p. 308.

‡ Jubilee Volume, p. 136.

§ Jubilee Tract, No. x, p. 13.

|| Fox's Wesleyan Missions, p. 137; Walker's Missions in Western Africa, p. 146.

¶ Fox, p. 138.

The Wesleyan report made up to 1851,† shows :—

Stations or Circuits	-	-	-	-	-	12
Chapels and Preaching Places	-	-	-	-	-	60
Missionaries, and assistant ditto	-	-	-	-	-	15
Catechists	-	-	-	-	-	20
Day-school Teachers	-	-	-	-	-	97
Unpaid agents, or Local-Preachers	-	-	-	-	-	89
Sabbath-school Teachers	-	-	-	-	-	195
Day-schools	-	-	-	-	-	42
Scholars attending the same	-	-	-	-	-	3557
Total number of Scholars, deducting those who attend both						
Sabbath and Week-day Schools	-	-	-	-	-	4723
Full and accredited Church Members	-	-	-	-	-	5997
On Trial	-	-	-	-	-	800
Reported as attending the ministry of the Missionaries	-	-	-	-	-	14464

The settlement of Sierra Leone, which has engaged so much of our attention, presented the following returns in 1862 to the Church Missionary Society's labours :—

Communicants	-	-	-	-	3932
Native Lay Teachers	-	-	-	-	14
" Clergymen	-	-	-	-	11
European Lay Teachers	-	-	-	-	7
" Clergymen	-	-	-	-	9

The following may be taken as the aggregate for the West Coast of Africa under the returns of the same society in 1864 :—

	Sierra Leone.	Yoruba.	Niger.	Total.
Communicants	1300	.. 1053	.. 41	.. 2394
Native Lay Teachers	12	.. 42	.. 11	.. 65
" Clergymen	5+	.. 4	.. 2	.. 11
European Lay Teachers	6	.. 4	—	.. 10
" Clergymen	8	.. 10	.. —	.. 18

In the year 1862-3 there were transferred by the Church Missionary Society to the Native Church in Sierra Leone nine native pastors and 2650 communicants, being the result of its labours.

The United Presbyterian Church of Scotland sent missionaries to Old Kalabar in 1846. They established three stations—Duketown, Oldtown, and Creek town. The Europeans consisted of four ordained clergymen and their wives, with catechists and assistants.

They have been labouring with good effect, and had in 1858 about 200 children in daily attendance at the mission schools, and between twenty and thirty of the native youths have been baptized. Various new stations were contemplated. "At all the stations they are labouring energetically." † "Of this region," Mr. Hutchinson says, "none in Western Africa had more need of Christianity than here where so many native diabolical doings still prevail."

In Yoruba, to the laws of which I have already alluded, success attended the Christian missionaries. §

* Fox's Wesleyan Missions, p. 605.

+ Three have since been ordained, making eight.

† Impressions of Western Africa, etc., by T. J. Hutchinson, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for the Bight of Biafra and the Island of Fernando Po, 1858, pp. 165, 166.

§ Ibid., p. 276.

For other denominations the reports of 1860 and 1861 return:—

English Baptist Society.—Western Africa:—				
	Missionaries	-	-	6
	Members	-	-	69
American Episcopal.....				
	Missionaries, including one Bishop	-	-	4
	„ Colonist and Native	-	-	6
	Lay and Female Assistants	-	-	20
	Native Assistants	-	-	19
	Communicants	-	-	382
American Board of Missions... Gaboon Mission.—				
	Missionaries	-	-	4
	Female Teachers	-	-	4
	Native Teachers	-	-	3
	Members	-	-	45
Zulu Mission				
	Missionaries	-	-	14
	Female Teachers	-	-	13
	Members	-	-	229

The agency of missionary societies in promoting the welfare of West Africa may be summed up in the emphatic words of one whose thorough acquaintance with the results of missionary enterprise, and the men by whom the work is carried on, constitutes him the best authority on such a subject. He says, “The Church Missionary Society commenced its labours sixty years ago, and its annual expenditure on the coast amounts to between £13,000 and £14,000. The Wesleyan Missionary Society commenced its labours upon the coast some years later: its annual expenditure is about half that of the former society. Many other missionary societies have since directed their attention to the same field of labour. The statistics of these missions present the following results:—

The missionary societies are sixteen in number, comprising six in Great Britain, seven in America, two in Germany, and one in the West Indies. There are—

110	Principal Missionary Stations.
104	European or American Missionaries.
66	Ordained Native Ministers.
340	Native Catechists and Teachers.
236	Schools.
13,983	Scholars
19,639	Registered Adult Native Communicants, who must represent a Christian population of at least 60,000 or 70,000 souls.

Twenty-five of the dialects and languages of West Africa have been reduced to writing, and in these, portions of the Scriptures and other religious books have been translated and printed.*

We have been told of the difficulty, nay almost impossibility of translating the English versions of the Scriptures into the African dialects, and as an illustration the 37th verse of the 23rd chapter of St. Matthew is cited.† But the fact was overlooked that the supposed difficulty as to the words “prophet” and “Jerusalem” would apply equally to the teaching of the Koran, or the word “Mecca.”

* West African Colonies, etc., by Henry Venn, B.D., ed. 1865, p. 38.

† Same also in 34th verse of 13th chapter of St. Luke.

The entire Scriptures, or portions, have been successfully rendered into the following African languages and dialects, and the books are readily obtainable at very moderate prices, even within the reach of those who can offer only their cowries in payment.

Versions.	Books printed.	Country where circulated.
Coptic (with the Arabic) -	Psalms and Gospels -	For the Copts of Egypt
Ethiopic (Ecclesiastical) -	N. Testament & Psalms -	For the Church in Abyssinia
Amharic (Vernacular) -	The entire Bible -	Abyssinia
Kmika (St. John, Romans, and Ephesians translated)	Gospel of St. Luke	Wanika tribes, East Africa
Kiswahili - - -	St. Luke translated	Suahali tribe, East Africa
Berber (four Gospels and Genesis translated)	Part of St. Luke -	The Oases of the African Deserts, from Mount Atlas to Egypt
Bullom (with English) -	St. Matthew - -	About Sierra Leone, on W.C.
Mandenga (four Gospels translated)	Ditto - - -	Mandingo Country, south of Gambia River
Accra, or Gã - - -	Sixteen Books of O. Test. and the N. Test.	Gold Coast, Western Africa
Oji - - -	Genesis and N. Test.	Ashantee Country
Yoruba - - -	Genesis, Exodus, Daniel, and N. Test.	Yoruba tribe, W. Africa
Hausa - - -	Genesis, Exodus, St. Matthew, St. John, and the Acts	Hausa tribes, and each side of the Rivers Niger and Tschadda
Ibo - - -	St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke.*	For the Ibos on the Banks of the Niger, etc.
Grebo (by American Bible Society)	Genesis and St. Luke	For Grebos in Western Africa
Nupe - - -	Part of St. Matthew	For the Nupe tribe, on the Kowara River
Namaqua (New Test. printing)	St. Luke, &c. -	N. of Orange River, S. Africa
Sechuana - - -	The entire Bible -	Bechuana, east of Namaqua
Kafir - - -	Ditto - - -	Caffraria, E. coast of S. Africa
Sesuto (Pentateuch printing)	Psalms - - -	} For the Basutos in S. Africa
Ditto - - -	New Testament -	

The great number of converts to Mohammedanism is not corroborated by official documents, for the Colonial Blue Book, issued in 1863, gives the returns from Sierra Leone under the census of 1860 as follows:—Total population, 41,624. Of these, were liberated Africans, 15,782; born within the colony, 22,593. Of the whole population only 3,357 remained pagans, 1,734 were Mohammedans, 15,180 were Methodists, etc.; and 12,954 Church people; 11,016 children were taught in the schools in the year. The trade of the colony is steadily growing; the population are rapidly learning the general customs of civilized society, and in many instances amassing wealth, enabling them to vie with European enterprize. Sierra Leone is thus proving not only a refuge for those who are rescued from

* An edition of the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke is now preparing for the press, under the superintendence of the Rev. J. F. Schön.

slavery, but a nucleus of civilization, and school of Christian teaching.*

The appeal to the pocket is often in religion, as in many other instances, a very good test of the sincerity of our feelings, and the earnestness of these converts can scarcely be questioned when we find, that in 1854, the Native Church undertook the whole pecuniary responsibility of their primary schools, at a saving to the Church Missionary Society of £800 per annum. In 1861 *the contributions amounted to above £10,000*; the following year the clergy were supported by local means, and rendered independent of the society at home.†

Bishop Bowen's remarks, in a charge to the Sierra Leone clergy, are so unmistakeable as to the results of missionary enterprise, that I cannot forbear to quote them. He says, "When we witness the crowded congregations in the mission churches; when we see the people kneeling universally in prayer; hear the almost too loud response from nearly every lip; and then the warmth and heartiness of the song of praise; and, again, meet so many, two-thirds—or sometimes three-fourths—of the adults crowding to the table of our Lord, many with the marks of former heathenism in their faces, what Christian, I ask, but would thank God for these things, and would see in these great results the value of missionary labours in general, and would acknowledge the unmistakeable mark of Divine approbation on the efforts and scriptural principles of that great society which has been such an honoured instrument in the hands of God for planting the Church of Christ on these shores?"

It would take far too long to quote all the independent testimony as to the successful work of the missionary. I would refer those interested in the subject to a work entitled *Residence at Sierra Leone*, by a Lady, and where we find in the description of the "patient, pious, and indefatigable missionary", a very different character to that picture of uncleanness, knavishness, and ignorance Mr. Reade has held up to our gaze. Might not Bishop Bowen's observation upon an Englishman abusing the negroes be here recalled to our recollection: "I did not wonder," said he, "much at his remark, *for I had overheard him swearing at a little boy in the boat.*" One passage from the work already referred to bears so closely upon the question we have been considering that I am induced to give it entire:

"Nothing can exceed the pains taken in teaching the people by the different missionaries, among whose ranks mortality is most awfully frequent; but yet their numbers are not adequate to ensure to the *whole* of the vast population here the benefits of instruction in the thorough manner in which it must be conveyed, ere we can look for its fruits in that improvement of mind, heart, and soul, which a right knowledge of our holy religion in all its truth, purity, simplicity, and beauty, is calculated to produce. Still, to a certain degree, they have seen their labours rewarded; and of their dense and orderly congregations it is to be hoped that the greater part are not merely

* African Missions, No. I, p. 45.

† Ibid., pp. 33, 48.

Christians in outward profession, but to the utmost extent of their abilities. Yet many of the liberated Africans are savages in every sense of the word, whilst numerous others, who *were either never at school, or else taken away ere they had made the least progress*, and apprenticed out in early childhood to the rudest and most ignorant of the country people, although they have grown up conforming externally to a few of the most striking usages of civilised life, in every other respect are as barbarous as the lowest slave in their own country."

I had almost omitted to observe, that amongst other hindrances to African researches, are found severe attacks of ophthalmia, to this we must now, unfortunately, add a mental nyctalopia, which, unable to behold the brighter side of nature, warm with its virtues and ennobling aspirations, turns its gaze alone upon the darker picture shadowed with ignorances and vices—a mental and moral degeneracy. This disease would be bad enough if confined alone to the individual sufferer, but the mischief assumes a wider form when the erroneous impressions are given forth to the world, where, like cheap *cartes de visite*, they leave on the minds of others an impression not alone faint and imperfect, but the very reverse of the original.

Mr. Reade has alluded to the Puritans. This is neither the place nor occasion to enter upon a discussion of their opinions, which need no defence of mine; for however mistaken might have been their political views, yet they have left monuments of piety, and a literary ranking for originality of idea and vigour of intellect, conspicuous amongst England's noblest authors. Far better would it be for us, if, in this age of rash opinions and assertions without reason, we imitated the mature reflection and prayerful preparation evinced alike in the writings and the speeches of these Puritans.

After the opinions we have noticed as advanced by some of the African travellers, it is no wonder that we are advised by them to relinquish our efforts, and withdraw from what is to them an unfruitful field. They can, however, know little of the character of their countrymen, and still less of the Christian portion of it, who advise such a step as this. Retreat is the last word that occurs to the mind of an Englishman, and at no time would it be more inappropriate than the present, when we see the example set in a new expedition, whose best success can be but a trifle in comparison to the enterprize of the missionary. Where men and means are found ready in the face of repeated failure, privation, and loss of life, to construct a new expedition to solve the Arctic question, depend upon it there will be no lack of hands for Africa; and when I add, even at the risk of Mr. Reade's derision, that there are many, fanatics if you will, who believe that the day is not far distant when Afric's wilderness and solitary places shall be glad, when the now desert of ignorance and sin shall rejoice and blossom as the rose; it is not probable that the work will be abandoned, especially as we feel assured the gain has far repaid the outlay.

I wish that to some more able pen than mine had fallen the lot to defend alike the negro and the missionary, but as one of the three who, alone in a crowded meeting, had raised their hands in protest of

Mr. Reade's paper, I felt it my duty to state such facts as I believed would correct the false impression likely to be made by that document, and I cannot close this feeble effort without recording my hearty thanks to Mr. M'Arthur and Mr. Reddie for their bold defence of those principles and labours to which the missionary's life is dedicated.

The PRESIDENT proposed that the thanks of the meeting be given to Mr. Owen, which was carried unanimously. He then said that Mr. Harris had contributed a paper on the same subject, but it would be irregular to read it as a distinct paper, therefore he called on that gentleman to read his remarks as a part of the discussion on the communication of Mr. Owen.

Mr. J. M. HARRIS (of Sherbro') then read the following observations :—The few remarks which I am about to make with reference to the subject under discussion will, I trust, be received in the spirit with which they are offered, that is, without any feeling of animosity to missionaries of any particular sect or nation, or of ill feeling to the negro. And I desire to add, that anything I may state will not be from hearsay, but from facts within my own personal observation, and which I can fully substantiate by adducing the names of the persons to whom I shall have occasion to refer. In the first place, I must say that my experience with regard to the effect of missionary efforts amongst the natives of the part of Africa with which I have been connected for more than ten years leads me to the conclusion that those efforts do not constitute a success; nor do they produce sufficient return for the very large amount of valuable lives and money expended; and my principal motive for giving you these facts is in the hope that others having a similarly personal acquaintance, and a like intimate knowledge of the character of the African, before and after his civilisation, may be encouraged to follow my example. I think the greater number of persons acquainted with Africa will agree with me that the system pursued by the missionaries is a wrong one. I believe it will be allowed that the negro is a very imitative being, and I think I can show you that if he but imitates his teacher, he will not prove a very beneficial member of the community to which he belongs. In the first place, the missionary considers it derogatory to his character and position to do any kind of labour, or to be seen without his white necktie and black coat. He always lives in a far superior manner to any person where he resides, excepting at government stations, and then it is always said, "If you want a good dinner you must go to the mission-house." I will remind you of a remark of a man who, I believe, had a world-wide reputation of being a thoroughly conscientious missionary. I refer to the late Bishop Bowen of Sierra Leone, who was unfortunately lost to us just when his good example was being felt and becoming influential. Bishop Bowen was returning from a visit to some part of his diocese on board one of the mail steamers, in which there were also some missionaries as passengers. As usual, they complained to the captain of the want of accommodation in the chief cabin, and

the quality of the food; he then remarked to them that he thought it would be more in character with their profession, before leaving England, if they had travelled in the second cabin, and saved the balance of the money to spend amongst their parishioners; that men who, when in England, were only mechanics, working at 25s. per week, when they came out as missionaries were not satisfied unless they lived in a style equal to that of an independent gentleman. At another time he said, it would be more to the credit of the missionaries if they lived amongst the poor people in the villages, than occupying the best houses in Freetown, and scarcely ever associating with the natives. Mr. Reade, Captain Burton, and Mr. Walker the other night gave us some facts which, to a stranger to the Coast of Africa, must, to say the least, have appeared very startling; and upon that occasion I said I could to a great extent corroborate their statements; but I consider it my duty as a man who has received a great amount of kindness and attention from Africans, and for many of whom I have a sincere respect, to protest against the sweeping denunciations then made, that every Christian negro is a thief, and every Christian negress a prostitute. I know negroes and negresses whose character absolves them from that condemnation, although I can confirm their remarks with reference to very many of that race. It is very rarely that you meet with a Creole of Sierra Leone who is not a thoroughly bad character, exceptions being few and far between. And the most respectable part of the population in that colony are those who have been captured in slave ships, and there liberated. I could give you the names of at least a dozen, who are rich men, and doing a large amount of business, and to many of whom, when I have complained of the character of the Creoles, have said to me, "Ah! Creoles are no good." In proof of what I say, look at the inmates of Sierra Leone gaol. I am certain you will find the greater portion have been born in Sierra Leone, and were therefore fair and favourable subjects for the process of civilisation, if they had been properly taken in hand by the missionaries when young, and made amenable to mental and moral cultivation and improvement. Many people talk of sending missions up the Niger and other of the rivers. I think it would be much more reasonable first to civilise those natives, whom we have in our own colonies, rather than perpetuate the uselessness of thousands of untutored natives within our reach in the colony of Sierra Leone. It will scarcely be credited, although absolutely true, that the Sierra Leone people do not produce food enough for one-tenth part of its inhabitants; and if the savage tribes around that colony were determined not to have any intercourse with Sierra Leone, nearly the whole of the population would be starved, or become dependent upon the imports from Europe, whilst the amount of articles produced for export would not suffice to purchase a shirt for each inhabitant of the colony. A few nights since the practice of polygamy was referred to by several gentlemen. I do not believe that custom can be abrogated in Africa. If you make the attempt you will drive them to greater deception. Even now marriage in Sierra Leone is very generally a farce. A woman

will live with a man till she has a child ; then, if they agree, they get married ; if not they part ; but of course this is not always the case ; in the upper classes they are more circumspect. Now for missionary examples as to polygamy. It is generally the case that a missionary loses two, three, or even four wives during his stay in Africa—the supply being kept up as I renew my supply of merchandise. He writes home to say his wife has died ; the committee at home sends him out half a dozen photographs from which to make a selection ; and the lady is shipped to him to his order, just in the same way as a bale of goods. A young lady, a fellow passenger of mine on board one of the mail steamers, was *en route* for Lagos, and for marriage to a missionary there. When, however, she arrived at Lagos, and saw her consignee, she was so disappointed at the change of his appearance that she declared she would not have him, and it took the united efforts of the missionary establishment to keep her to her bargain. When the natives see this sort of thing going on, you may be sure it does not give them a very exalted idea of holy matrimony. And if anything is said to them on the subject, they make answer, “Yes, it is all very well for you white men ; you have only to send home and you get another woman whenever you want one.” A speaker at our last meeting observed that he would take the evidence of the Governor-General of India in preference to that of the gentlemen who then addressed us. Now, I contend that no official can have so much knowledge of the character of a people as they who live amongst them, who are continually in personal contact with them in their daily avocations, and to whom, as I have often experienced, they are sure to apply for advice and assistance in their pleasures and in their troubles. Another thing that would give the visitor to Sierra Leone a very poor idea of the standard of its religious community is the disgusting conduct of professing converts in some of the chapels, where the native Christians, both women and men, throw themselves about, exposing and distorting their bodies, and yelling in a fearful manner. Indeed very many of the converts made by the religious societies in Sierra Leone are made in this way. The exhibitionists for the time being are declared to be seeking, that is to say, praying, for God to receive them into the arms of the Church. After a certain time they profess and proclaim in the chapel their religious experiences, working themselves up into a most excited state, making use of the most blasphemous language, and being then accompanied home by the congregation, singing hymns and lauding the Christian excellence of those idols of the hour thus made the enviable centre of attraction and admiration. By the converts I do not mean persons who up to the time in question were unbelievers, but those previously received into the Church, and who, having been subscribing members, had fallen from grace to nature, possibly by having had illegitimate children, or for theft, sins which are systematically purged by the payment of small sums by the sinners, and who are thereupon readmitted into the Church. Another circumstance will give the visitor to Sierra Leone a curious illustration of the religion of these Christianised natives—the fact that, when intoxicated or in any way elevated, their

hilarity or jollity is manifested by the singing of hymns, instead of songs, as in England, a most disgusting desecration of spiritual subjects. It will also be found that the negro after he is converted still retains to a great extent his superstitious ideas, and as a rule they have greater weight with him than the laws of Christianity. In many cases that have come to my knowledge, the boys who have been brought up in the mission-schools, when they return to their homes become the worst characters in the country. This is to be accounted for in this way: they lose faith in their greegrees and other native customs, but do not gain a sound knowledge of Christianity, for it to have any effect upon them; and you will always find that the boys return to the native custom of wearing greegrees, trying people for witchcraft by the sarcy-wood test, etc. I have had in my employ during my residence on the coast at least twenty natives as clerks; nearly the whole of them came from mission-schools direct, but I do not know of an instance in which these boys have not robbed me, and committed many other crimes in the country till they have had to leave the Sherbro altogether. In some cases they turn war-men to get slaves, then become slaves themselves. I remember one case where a young man was sent from Freetown to me with strong letters of recommendation from the Church Missionary Society, asking me to give him employment; "he did not drink, was regular in his attendance at church, a good scholar, an honest man," in fact, he was everything that was good. Well, I thought, I am all right now; what a capital thing that school is; I must give five guineas next year instead of one. I sent him up the river to a factory, with a Sierra Leone man, to see what he was made of. He had not been there a month when the chief of the town sent me word that my saint was drunk all day, and if I wanted to save my money I must go up there directly. In less than six months from my first employing this young man he became one of the greatest blackguards in the country. Another I had from the late Mr. Brooks, a member of the American mission, and a thorough good honest man, but much disliked by the generality of his associates because he was too plain spoken. This young man he raised from his childhood; his father is a chief, and had been educated at Sierra Leone. Mr. Brooks came to me one day, and said, "Now, Harris, I have a capital boy for you, will you have him; the society cannot afford to keep him any longer; he is a good honest boy, and you know the trouble I have taken with him." Of course, he was another saint. He had not been with me a month when one of my uncontaminated natives came to me and said, "Massa, daddy Charles da thief." "Nonsense, I don't believe it." The end of the palaver was, he took me to the back of one of the stores, and there hanging under the rafters was a four-pound parcel of beads and a dozen red caps, ready to be taken away. Charles bolted; got a Mr. Peters to employ him as a factor in the Gallinas. He made away with the money entrusted to his care; robbed Prince Mannah, and then ran away to Monrovia, where he remained. These, gentlemen, are only specimens. I have had from the Mendi mission three boys, cousins of this Charles, and all robbed me. One is now a slave; the

others are skulking about the country following war parties, in fact, turned perfect savages again; much worse than other boys of their own class who have not gone through the civilising process. Out of some dozens of boys brought up at the Mendi mission-school, I do not know of a single instance of their not turning out the greatest rascals in the country. I believe they have had two or three boys taught carpentering, who are now of some use when they can be made to work. I have two or three boys with me who are very good mechanics, and, as far as I can see, they are honest and steady; but they have not been brought up in a school. If they continue as they are now going on, I intend to bring them to England for a twelve-month, when they will be able to get as much book-learning as they require. The Mendi mission has been established from fifteen to twenty years, and the greater part of that time have been expending something like three thousand pounds a year, and have lost at least twenty to thirty lives, and this sacrifice has produced no beneficial results. One or two circumstances I remember to have taken place that do not reflect very highly on the qualifications of the persons sent out as missionaries. Some few years back there was an American coloured man who had been many years in the Gallinas and Sherbro countries, dying; a trader, a friend of mine, had the old man brought to his factory, and tried all the doctoring he knew, but found the old man getting worse. He went to the mission-house, and asked the head of the mission to come and see old Godfrey, as he had done all he could for his body, would he endeavour to do something for his soul. He made answer that "he had been going to the devil all his life, it was no use trying to save him now." There was one of the missionaries married a coloured woman. This so annoyed the white saints that he was compelled to leave and go to Monrovia; and this feeling with regard to black people is more or less shown amongst all missionaries. You never see them received into the house, and associate with as an equal one of the black pastors, although these men do the greater part of the work, and live in the villages amongst the people, where, of course, their black coat has to be found, and white necktie kept as well starched as their more fortunate brethren in Freetown. One very great cause of the want of success amongst the natives is the continual opposition of one denomination to the other; this causes the natives to argue with themselves in this manner: these white men say they all worship one God, and are all followers of one Saviour. How is it they are always quarrelling, and no two of them go the same road to heaven; which one is right? This creates so much doubt in the small mind of the savage, that it ends in his professing whichever pays best. A few months back the whole body of missionaries in Freetown combined to preach against the Roman Catholic mission just establishing in Freetown, and advertised sermons to be preached by the different ministers on the subject. This caused a great sensation, and was the best advertisement that the Roman Catholics could have had, and I have no doubt was the means of getting a great many converts to the Roman Catholic faith. A great deal has been said about the rapid strides

the Mohammedans are making in Africa. This is a very strange fact, but whether it is that the religion is suitable to the African in his present state, or that the proselytising is done by a people who lives with them, and whose ideas are almost of the same standard, it is a fact that amongst the aborigines of the Sherbro and Gallinas countries a large number of them profess more or less to be Mohammedans; and whenever you meet a boy who has been educated by a Mohammedan he rarely goes back to his old habits; and if he fails to keep up his religion, he endeavours to hide his backslidings as long as possible; not like the Christian convert, who never seems to value his new religion as soon as he gets free from his schoolmaster; and all this is done by the Mohammedans without one farthing cost; in fact, on the contrary, the natives will pay to be taught portions of the Koran and the religious ceremonies. I think one great cause for success is the simplicity of the religion. They do not attempt to deny any portion of the belief of any other sect; they believe that all religions are good and true, and that all the prophets were good men; they allow that Christ was a good man and a prophet; and that Mohammed was a prophet after Christ; this to the natives' mind is so much easier of belief than all the bickerings of the white man, and that this is the correct road because it is my road, etc. There can be no doubt that the system of instruction now pursued by the missionaries in Africa is not as beneficial as it might be, the children in the schools becoming thereby merely educated parrots. They read the Bibles and hymn-books fluently, but they cannot read any ordinary book placed in their hands. And instead of the boys and girls being brought up as useful members of the community, and taught to work at some serviceable trade, or in the cultivation of the soil, they learn nothing but reading and writing, and when they leave the school they have no means of gaining a livelihood, except as clerks, traders, or ministers. This, I think, is the chief cause of the number of young men in Sierra Leone who find their way into the Freetown gaol. In conclusion, I must say, that if the money expended at missionary stations were disbursed in the establishment of model farms, and in the employment as missionaries of men who are mechanics, or agriculturists, for the education of the natives in useful labour, I have no doubt that in a very short time such improved system would exhibit very valuable results.

Captain BURTON: Mr. Owen, I thank you. The paper last read is sufficient answer to those who charge our Society, as the many jealous of its great success are glad to do, with so-called "infidel" tendencies. You, gentlemen, have listened, and with the greatest patience, to Mr. Burnard Owen's paper on Missionary Successes; most ably has Mr. Owen stated the stereotyped view of this highly interesting subject. And here I will at once make the remark, that upon such a matter, the English public's eyes are completely hoodwinked, and despite our efforts, the Negro has not yet taken that place in Nature for which Nature intended him. I know not whether the author of that highly instructive and progressive paper—perhaps Mr. Owen would like it to be called an argument—

has been in Africa. Probably he has not; and his present experience of the African consists in having rubbed shoulders against a negro or two in the dismal rooms that look upon Salisbury Square. Now Mr. Reade, Mr. Walker, and Mr. Harris, of whose paper I must on the whole approve, have been in Africa. I agree with them that you seldom meet at Sierra Leone any but a thoroughly loose character. Mr. Owen has given you a very pretty picture. Mr. Harris has given you a photograph. Mr. President and Gentlemen, I am so sorry that you have heard the brutal truth. I also have been in Africa, and not only we, but all African travellers, if they dare to speak the truth, are of one opinion. Our opinion is that missionary efforts in Africa generally have been a complete failure. And from the past we venture to speak of the future. There is nothing to cheer us in the conversion of the negro, because when converted he becomes worse than before. The late Commander Fred. Forbes, R.N., author of *Dahomey and the Dahomans*, and a man of thoroughly respectable and average opinions, has long ago told you that.

Mr. Reade is now absent, and it is my pleasing duty to defend his position. He did not, I believe, intend any argument in the paper with which he favoured us: he proposed to offer his experience. True, the experience was limited to five months; but how many Englishmen there are in every audience who cannot boast of five minutes' personal acquaintance with Africa? Besides which, five months in some men equals five years in others. It is highly to Mr. Reade's credit that he comes forward so boldly to challenge Exeter Hall; and if in the heat of the moment he has expressed himself in strong terms, we will charitably ascribe them to the ardour of generous youth. I am ready to support Mr. Reade in his assertion that the Christian converts of Sierra Leone, male and female, are the most demoralised race that I know in Africa. A certain F.R.G.S., who not long ago wrote his *Wanderings in West Africa*, tells the public so openly. The hospitals are crowded with cases of gonorrhœa and syphilis; and as for robbery, it is hardly possible for a white man to keep property there. The unfeigned horror in which the other and non-Christian settlements hold the Sierra Leone people is the best proof of their evil name. Missions began there in 1816, and we have favourable official reports in 1819 and 1822; the present generation, therefore, has had a fair trial. It was the same at Abeokuta, but at a later date. Christianity is accepted with *furor* by the volatile negro, who plays with it for a year or so, finds it utterly unsuitable to him, and throws it away in a pet. The traders south of Fernando Po do not care to see even steam communication extended, because it would bring them Sierra Leone men. In my own jurisdiction, the Christian converts were of all by far the worst. One of them brought a charge of theft against a highly respectable missionary, the Rev. Mr. Anderson of the Old Calabar river. I found the charge wholly vexatious, and applied to the commander of one of H. M.'s cruisers to flog the man. But as he was a Christian and a Sierra Leoneite, he would have memorialised Salisbury Square. Mr. Owen would have written a paper about him, and a petition for him. So far he escaped;

yet, curious to say, the natives presently found him guilty of some offence, and he received an Egbo flogging which he will not easily forget. The fact is the pagans have their own ideas of honour and honesty, crude ideas, I own, yet better than nothing; they severely punish unchastity in women, robbery in men. But the Christian convert loses his own code without attaining ours; he becomes a bad negro, and a worse white. The less Mr. Owen says about trial by jury at Sierra Leone the better; it is the maximum of injustice, a disgrace to our nation. There are two great tribes of Ibo and Akur; no Ibo criminal is ever found guilty if the majority be Ibo men, and *vice versâ*. But whatever the negroes be, a white man never escapes.

I shall not notice Mr. Reade's assertion that El Islam is a branch of Christianity, which Mr. Carter Blake denied. To be brief, El Islam is merely that Axianism which the Semitic mind has ever preferred to the Japhetic Athanasianism. The mission of the Apostle of Allah was to complete and restore Christianity to her original lustre; it may be called, in fact, the First Reformation.

Mr. Owen thinks it would be more candid in me to inform him of my stand-point. He wishes, in fact, to put me into the confessional. It is satisfactory to see a person of Mr. Owen's evangelical antecedents thus fraternising with the popular sentiment towards Rome. But personally I object to confessionals. My stand-point is, and I hope ever will be, the truth so far as it is in me. My religious opinions are of no importance to anyone but to myself; and I will *not* confess to Mr. Owen. Of my stand-point on the negro question, I will say something presently. When I have to look into Mr. Burnard Owen's graphic account of the "proud successes of missionaries in the battle with paganism," I am somewhat surprised to see the authorities which he quotes. Prichard was doubtless a good man in his own time, but he was born in the age of ignorance; he was, in fact, a præ-anthropologist. Mr. East quotes merely what he heard, without attempting to sift it; he is severe on Moslem grigris; had the Hebrews no phylacteries, or have Christians no scapulars, holy crosses, etc.? Equally one-sided is Mr. Beecham's *Ashantee and the Gold Coast*; I have read it, but African travellers rarely look at these missionary advertisements, which are mostly written in London *in majorem populi injuriam*. The students of Fox's Wesleyan Missions should be known as Foxe's *Martyrs*: I have rarely seen so much paper so thoroughly wasted. And yet he is brought in as an authority upon the Congo when we have such writers as Father Merolla! "Walker's Missions" and "African Missions" tell their own tale. The latter (p. 23, No. I) actually sets out with the venerable but obsolete blunder about the negro's belief in an evil spirit and his ministers—I should not have expected to hear this again. It indulges also in the favourite silly sentimentalism about "when the Bible was presented it was met by the trader's rum bottle." Why, gentlemen, I myself know a mission on the West African coast where rum and ammunition were sold. I will also assert that on the whole the trader is not more degraded than the white missionary, and is much less so than the black or the whitey-brown. And, I regret to say, I know many in England who attend

their chapels, and subscribe largely to missions, and yet who enrich themselves by the destruction of the negro by supplying him with arms and spirits. How they reconcile the abomination with their consciences I know not. Perhaps Mr. Burnard Owen can explain. At any rate, we have present an African merchant who can tell his own story. Bishop Bowen, of course, spoke well of his own cloth. Mrs. Melville, who wrote a pleasant volume, *Sierra Leone by a Lady*, spoke sentimentally of the missionary generally; in those days it was the fashion; but she did not like his handiwork. As for Mr. Vice-consul Duncan, no man had a greater contempt for the converted negro than he had; all praise of him is contrary to the spirit of his book, but he was not a rich man, he had his way to make, and consequently a little "soft sawder" was duly administered to the "British public." The eminent African traveller, Dr. Livingstone, was quoted to prove that the Sabbath is as strictly kept by the negro as in Scotland. I should say more, namely, that he is ready to keep three hundred and sixty-five Sabbaths per annum—to do nothing all the week, and to rest on Sunday. And after the terrible fates of the Oxford and Cambridge Missions, Dr. Livingstone's enthusiasm on the subject will probably be deemed greater than that of an ordinary man. I cannot judge my predecessor, Mr. Consul Hutchinson's book of "Impressions"; that gentleman is not called upon to express unpopular opinions, unless he likes. Bishop Crowther I know; he is, perhaps, the best African, or rather the only good one I have met on the West Coast, but I am unable to tell you whether he is a negroid or a negro. There were even at his birth Moslems in his native village, and there have been usually Haussa blood in their veins. Of the Rev. G. Nichol, I cannot say anything, except that if what we have heard is true, he must be a *rara avis*, and most dissimilar to "Niger" generally. African children, we all know, are quick, indeed too quick. Their quickness is indeed amazing, but it has no results. But about the age of puberty they come to a dead stop. Practically, we all have recognised this fact; but as the English youth does not come to a dead stop at the same age, the Englishman still hardly believes it. There are people, as our noble Chairman said on the last memorable night, who feel hurt by being told a new thing—it does not agree with them!

Mr. Owen informs us, quoting Mungo Park, that in Bondu the Imam (I wish he would not call it Iman, which means "faith") consults the king upon matters of religion. Possibly; there is the taint of negro blood. But El Islam does not *as a rule* consult kings or style them defenders of the faith. El Islam, like the religion of all the patriarchs, maintains slavery, which is the first step of progress in uncivilised lands; but her slaves are in a high social position, and far happier than your servants. It remained to Christian societies, it is the proud prerogative of civilisation, to render slavery infamous and horrible. On the West Coast of Africa I have heard Christian as well as Moslem teachers described as "agents of perpetual mischief." Mr. Macbriar is to me no authority. Mr. Missionary Baker shows a touching ignorance of West Africa when he asserts that Islam "has

made the Gambia people the worst of men—utterly debased in their morals.” He had certainly not seen Sierra Leone. And observe : I do not assert that the Moslemised negro becomes a good Moslem ; I mean only to state that the Christianised negro becomes a very bad Christian.

Mr. Reade, *versus* M. Schön, is not solitary in holding that the African is benefited by polygamy, which I admire to see characterised by Mr. Owen as an “unnatural institution.” One would think he is speaking of the peculiarities which the Christian Greeks taught the heathen Turks. Polygamy, the practice of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the ancestors of the Founder of Christianity, who came from a peculiarly polygamic family—polygamy unnatural ! The force of prejudice and pharisaism can hardly go further than this.

Of course, in polygamy, few men have more than one wife. But why repeat the trite old trash of strong brained and hard-headed Paley about the superior prolificacy of monogamy ? I am weary of recounting the rule, and thought that my *City of the Saints* had to a certain extent established it. But I must do it again for the benefit of Mr. Owen. In monogamy, ours for instance, there is a slight preponderance of male births ; in polygamy female births become greatly in excess ; in polyandry male births are enormously numerous, as many, for instance, as 400 boys to 120 girls.* We sometimes read that polygamic lands are thinly populated : true, but it is their population which causes polygamy, not *vice versâ*. Moreover the two most populous empires in the world, China and Japan, are eminently polygamic. Mr. Reade is perfectly right in stating that in Africa wives are furious at the abolition of polygamy. The Church of England missionaries at Abeokuta actually unmarried many converts’ wives and remarried them to others. This is a power to bind and to loose with a witness. Anything more degrading to the woman I cannot imagine. Mormon girls often refuse to “nigger it with a one-wife man,” and perhaps they are not wrong. In polygamic countries of course there are many scandalous tales about polygamy, so there are in monogamic England about the mother-in-law. But it remains for the monogamist on the West Coast of Africa to poison a sister-in-law by way of concealing his and her shame, and to be removed from his mission without other penalty for the slight offence. Eunuchs are rare in Africa, and belong only to the negroid races or those in their vicinity. It is an Asiatic invention, and the *castrati*—they were to be met with even in St. Peter’s—became a European institution, now happily abolished.

El Islam, we are told, does not progress at Sierra Leone, and figures are given. But they prove nothing ; the large floating population of Mandenga is not included. Sierra Leone alone is talked of. But Sierra Leone is not Africa. The governor of Lagos will tell a dif-

* See “Hunting in the Himalayas”, by R. H. W. Dunlop, C.B., B.C.S., F.R.G.S. London : Richard Bentley, 1860. That well known and experienced English official has published the results of personal observation ; and he wisely remarks that he “gives more weight to nature’s adaptability to national habit, than to the possibility of infanticide.”

ferent tale. And before quitting this part of the subject I must once more join issue with Mr. Owen upon the subject of Sierra Leone. He assigns to it the *epithetum ornans* of "nucleus of civilisation and school of Christian teaching." I declare it to be the curse of West Africa. Let him now go there and see for himself. His mental nyctalopia, his hallucinations of negro worship, will vanish before the first month is over. The worst of these philanthropists is, that they become so cruel to the late gods of their idolatry.

Mr. Owen is pleased to say hard things touching the present age of rash opinions. Now, hard things have as justly been said of any present age. For my part, I am not so desponding, nor do I look back with the least satisfaction upon the moody and superstitious days of "prayerful" Puritanism. To Catholic gentlemen here present I commend Mr. Owen's liberal and enlightened opinions touching the action of the Roman Church upon its votaries, making it a mere machine requiring only body to be in its ranks. As for the preparations for Protestant membership required from African converts, I know pretty well what that is; I have also learned to fathom the value of an African "call." True, the Catholic faith has vanished from the banks of the Zaire; but take away your missions and slave squadron, and what would become of Protestantism in our West African "pesthouses?" For my part, I cannot but confess that I should feel curiously disposed towards Christianity if I were a negro, for instance, an Abeokutan. I am placed in a little crowd of Roman Catholics, Anglo-Catholics, Kirk of Scotlanders, Wesleyan Methodists, Northern Baptists (who abhor slavery), and Southern or hardshell Baptists (who uphold it as a godly institution); and each one of these learned and reverend gentlemen tells me that he is right, and all the others are wrong; some a little wrong, others "damnable wrong".

But then, Mr. President and Gentlemen, had I been a negro, my superior docility, gentleness, and intelligence would certainly have solved the mystery. I very much respect Mr. Venn, B.D., but I do not respect his lists and figures; there is no exacter error than the statistic. Protestant missions have, it is true, had translations of their Holy Writ, but what an ignoble literature it is! Let the reader, as a specimen, read the Niger English Testament, a scandal published by M'Dowall, London, 1829. I would rather accept the popular version of the Glasgow Bible.

To conclude: of course I do not expect to prevent the public subscribing to missions; I might as well expect to keep out the tide with a pitchfork. Also, my motto is "live and let live." But I have travelled in our English "black country", and I have seen Blarney Lane in Galway town. These, to quote no others, are places which make me blush for the honour of our nation. I deeply regret every shilling sent away from our own people to be wasted upon the hopeless barbarous blacks of West Africa. I lament to see nearly a million per annum lavished upon an anti-slavery squadron when, with that sum, we might settle our emigrants in the south temperate zone, and supply our auriferous colonies with hands who are now allowed to drift over to the States. This, Mr. Owen, is my stand point. I con-

sider it my duty to express my opinions upon the subject; and whether they prevail or not, whether you like them or not, I shall ever take a pride in advocating them.

Mr. McARTHUR, in rising to support the views of Mr. Owen, said he should first notice the paper of Mr. Harris. That gentleman's paper was entitled to consideration and respect, because he put forward his views in a manner not calculated to insult their feelings, as a former paper had done. It was objected by Mr. Harris that a sufficient return had not been received for missionary efforts. That objection raised the question, what is a sufficient return? There were people in the world who believed that the salvation of a single soul was an object of greater value than all the wealth of the world; and if they took that view of the question, there had been a sufficient return. There could be no doubt that, not only one, but many souls had been saved by missionary efforts. A large amount of education had been diffused among savage people. Numbers of schools had been established in Western Africa, the Bible had been translated into the language of the people, and diffused among them; so that, if nothing else had been done, in those two respects valuable returns had been received for the money expended. But taking a larger view of the subject of missionary efforts, it would be found that, in connection with education alone, hundreds of thousands of once savage children had received education. They had been taught to read and write and cipher, and had been rendered capable of discharging many duties that they would otherwise have been totally unfitted for. The efforts of the missionaries had also been of great advantage in aiding the abolition of slavery. They had been told by Captain Burton that slaves are happier than servants are in this country. He was prepared to admit that in the slave States of America the slaves are as well off as the greater part of the labouring population in Ireland, and even in some parts of England. But would it be said that a man who could be bartered by one master to another without his consent, was better than a servant? The slaves could not be taught to read; their masters might separate them from their families, and send them to different parts of the country, regarding them merely as chattels; a white man might murder any slave with impunity provided no other white man was present to give evidence. The condition of servants in this country could not be compared to such a state as that; and he regarded slavery as the greatest abomination under heaven. It had been objected to the missionaries that they were idle, and did no kind of manual labour; but it should be borne in mind that white men could not work on the western coast of Africa. From his own experience he could affirm, that among many of the converted Christian negroes, there existed deep feeling and genuine piety. In Washington he had heard a black man preach an admirable sermon. On another occasion, he was present at a meeting at which a black man presided, who conducted the proceedings with as much propriety as any white man could have done. He also heard a black man address a public meeting and make an admirable speech. He adduced these as instances

of negro civilisation and Christianity. Another case he mentioned was that of a negro, whom he had once heard speak very effectively at a public meeting in this country. He told how he recollected having been sold to a slave dealer, and put on board a slaver which was afterwards captured by a British man-of-war; how he was taken to Sierra Leone, where he was taken by the hand by the missionaries, who educated him and put him to business; how he embraced Christianity, commenced business for himself, and got on until he became a successful merchant in Free Town; and he (Mr. McArthur) believed he was an honest Christian man. It had been adduced as a reproach to the converted negroes, that they had been heard singing hymns when intoxicated; but the same reproach might apply to some Englishmen, for he knew of one who appeared to be very religious when he was tipsy, but was far from being so at other times. With regard to the alleged fitness of Mohammedanism to the negro on account of its simplicity, it was, indeed, simple enough, for it seemed to consist in saying that "Allah is God and Mohammed is his prophet." It had been said that many of the negroes who had been educated in the schools could read no other book but the Bible. That assertion was very extraordinary, for he conceived that a child who was able to read the Bible would have little difficulty in reading any other book in the same language. He contended that Christian missions, independently of their direct object, had done a great deal for the extension of geographical knowledge, and if they had done no other service they had effected much good in that respect. They had also been of great service to the literature of this country. The statistics of missions shewed that nearly three hundred volumes had been written by missionaries, or upon the subject of missions, and that they contained a large amount of valuable information. With respect to the alleged prevalence of gonorrhœa and syphilis at Sierra Leone, he could understand how that could be the case, from what had occurred at the Sandwich Islands from intercourse with the traders. It could not be attributed to the Christian missionaries; but it had been caused by the heathen Christians, who introduced the vices of civilisation among the natives. Lord Stanley had said, on the occasion of the dinner to Captain Burton, that some persons appeared to be disgusted with a new idea and could not receive it; he (Mr. McArthur) thought the value of an idea did not depend so much upon its being new, as upon whether it was good or bad; if it were bad they had better be without it, but if good, then they should gladly receive and endeavour to act upon it. It had been said that one cause of the non-success of Christian missions was the difference of opinion on religious matters among the missionaries, and there could be no doubt that that was a great hindrance to the efforts of Christian missions. Captain Burton said he blushed for the honour of our nation; but he (Mr. McArthur) blushed for the honour of Christianity to find any one stand up for Mohammedanism in opposition to the Christian faith.

Captain BURTON, interrupting Mr. McArthur said, "This is personal."

The PRESIDENT observed that it was competent for any person in

the meetings of that society to advocate any religious opinion he thought proper without being personally attacked.

Mr. McARTHUR, in continuation, said he made the remark because Captain Burton avowed himself as the defender of the opinions expressed in Mr. Reade's paper. He should be sorry to use abusive language, but when a gentleman chooses to use such weapons against others he should not object if the same weapons were employed against himself. It had been said that the reports of the missionaries could only be attributed either to ignorance or to attempts to deceive, and that the missionary societies were supported by a few thousand ignorant people in this country. Now the fact is, that these societies are supported, not by a few thousands only, but by millions, of the wealthy and of the poor, who give their money liberally in support of those objects. As to the charge of ignorance, many among them were of the highest rank, and held high positions, politically, commercially, and socially, in the literary world, and as men of science. Enthusiasm he did not consider a term of reproach. When enthusiasm in the pursuit of other objects was praised and admired, why should it be called a crime when applied to the diffusion of Christianity by missionary efforts? The broad question was, what had been the effect of missions throughout the world and the spread of Christianity? and in answer to that question let them compare what Christianity has done for this country, and what Mohammedanism has done for those countries in which it is believed. What Christianity has done for this country it might do for the world at large, and though as a matter of credibility of evidence he was bound to respect the statements that had been made in that meeting, he was also bound to respect the evidence of the many others who state exactly the opposite, and who represented missionary efforts to have been very successful in obtaining genuine converts to Christianity in all parts of the world.

Mr. R. B. N. WALKER observed that the preceding speaker had referred to the returns that had been received from the large expenditure of life and money on the west coast of Africa; but the experience of twenty-three years residence at Gaboon enabled him to say, that during the whole of that period there had not been the salvation of a single soul by missionary efforts. The missionaries themselves admitted the same. As to the abolition of polygamy and slavery in West Africa, he knew that there was a missionary organ published at Abeokuta, in which both polygamy and slavery were advocated. With respect to the alleged demoralisation of the negroes, caused by traders, to a certain extent that was true; but though the Africans were very quick in acquiring the vices of civilisation, they were very slow in acquiring its virtues. The less that was said about the observance of the sabbath by the so-called converted negroes the better. It might, indeed, be said that if the sabbath was as well observed in Africa as it is in Glasgow, the blacks were in a very poor way, for Sunday afternoon in that town is given up to drunkenness. He considered that the practice of polygamy in Africa was conducive to chastity, and that it should not be abolished. The practice was advocated by

the women, and in the Gaboon country the number of males unmarried did not predominate over the females. From his knowledge of that country he could say that Christianity had retrograded. A few years ago there were several converts, and one place was called Jesus Christ Town, but every one had gone back to paganism and became pagans, thieves, prostitutes, and worse.

Mr. D. W. NASH said, that in considering this question they should take a general view of the effects of missionary efforts and endeavour to ascertain whether, as had been asserted by Mr. Reade, the negroes were morally and intellectually worse than they would have been if there had been no Christian missions in Africa. He did not think it necessary to have been in Africa to offer an opinion on that question, notwithstanding Captain Burton and other speakers had attached importance to it, and regarded it as an objection to Mr. Owen's paper that he had not been in the country. If, for instance, the question of the demoralisation of a large portion of the population of London were discussed, would it be necessary to have been into all the worst parts of London before giving an opinion, for the judgment might be determined by the facts obtained from others. He (Mr. Nash) had not been in West Africa, but he did not therefore consider himself unable to give an opinion where so wide a question as the advantages or disadvantages of missionary efforts was brought forward. What had been the conduct of the native Africans after those efforts had been made? Many persons were employed to convert them, and to give an account of what had been the result. Many societies of the kind had been formed in every Christian country in the world, who had sent missionaries among all savage nations. There were many individuals who devoted themselves and their money to carry out the view that it is desirable to plant Christianity in savage lands, and who believe that it has produced great advantages. Now, who were the men that had acted in that manner? They were some of the best, the wisest, and the most intelligent of all Christian men. In the lists of subscribers to those institutions were to be found that class of men who were earnest and honest in prosecuting their object. That being so, what a gigantic imposture must the reports of such societies be, if what Captain Burton, Mr. Reade, and Mr. Harris had said be true; and it could only be supposed that those gentlemen had come in contact with false examples of negro converts. Was it to be believed that all those societies which had been going on for so long a time, and which had cost so much money, were altogether impostures? In West Africa, for instance, about which no mistake could be made, for the circumstances were well known to thousands of persons in this country. Those persons were perfectly well acquainted with what had been done, and yet it was to be supposed that they subscribed their money freely to carry out a system of fraud and imposture with which they must be acquainted! After all, it did not appear that there were many examples of backsliders who were worse than they were before, and those examples were obtained by traders, who were likely to come among the worst specimens. As to the capacity of negroes, and the allegation

that the growth of their intellect is stopped after a certain age, that was not the question they had then to consider. If history taught by example, it showed that Christianity has supplanted heathenism over a large portion of the globe; that it has bettered the condition of man, and placed him in a position fitting to his superiority over every other creature in animated nature. That had been the effect of Christianity as opposed to paganism among many savage nations, and why should it not apply to Africa and the negro? He thought there was abundant evidence that the negro has been bettered by missionary efforts, morally, intellectually, and religiously. He hoped the society would pause before it decried the correctness of the valuable evidence which missionary societies had collected of the improvement of savage nations by their efforts, and before they decided a question of such great importance, not only to anthropological science, but to the social condition of man.

The PRESIDENT said it would be impossible to finish the discussion that evening, but before the meeting adjourned he would call on Mr. Carter Blake to read a letter which had been received from Mr. Winwood Reade, who was unable to attend.

The following letter was then read:—

Southampton, March 18, 1865.

MY DEAR SIR,—Before leaving England, I write to express to you the regret which I feel in being unable to attend the reading of Dr. Colenso's paper on *Missionary Efforts among Savages*. Not only am I interested in the question; I admire the man. The Bishop of Natal is the forerunner of a race of churchmen whom we who are young may hope to see plentiful among us: he is the apostle of free and honest thought; he is striving to liberate the clergy from those chains which shackled even laymen but a short time ago; he is the Martin Luther of a new reformation; if sometimes mistaken, he is always conscientious; and he has stood up bravely against the religious ruffianism of the day, and endured that species of martyrdom which the age still tolerates, but which it will soon forbid. I mean malevolent abuse, and attempted robbery of his see.

I think, sir, that you do well to allow such questions as that of missions among savages to be discussed before the Anthropological Society; such discussions elicit indirectly most important facts relating to the minds and manners of savage nations; and they also directly afford us information upon a most interesting question in the science of ethnology, viz., the influence of civilised races upon those which are uncivilised.

The efforts of missionaries among savages afford materials for science. There can be no doubt of that. It is for this reason that we consent to examine them. But I maintain that as efforts of philanthropy they are quite useless; and indeed that they are injurious, because they rob our own wretched paupers of that sympathy and of that money which justly belong to them.

However, as missions will certainly be continued for many years, it is the duty of the traveller to point out their most flagrant errors. A mere handful of men will never be able to christianise a continent,

unless the religion which they impart is of such a character that the natives can proselytise among themselves. This is not the case with Christianity. However, these men may to a certain extent improve those natives with whom they mingle, if they be, in the first place, men of high moral character; and, in the second place, if they possess sufficient wisdom and knowledge of human nature to go to work in the right way.

But, unhappily, missionaries are frequently bad, and almost always foolish men. I should suggest, in the first place, to those who send them out, that they should display a little more care in selecting persons for this office. Let them study the system which is pursued in the Presbyterian missions in America; and, perhaps, they may succeed in sending out such men as Mr. Walker of Gaboon, and Mr. Mackay of Corisco. They should also advise their missionaries to attach more importance to deeds than to words. Savages are generally refined hypocrites. When it suits their own purposes, they can ape holiness, and quote scripture with all the skill of a Tartuffe. The missionaries should discourage their pseudo-converts from expressing pious sentiments, unless after close examination their practical lives be found to be equally unimpeachable. They should recollect that there is a denunciation in the New Testament against hypocrites, and should quote it now and then.

Also, they should not weaken their influence by making rabid war against certain customs which are called *fetish*, which the natives are loth to part with, and which are innocent in themselves. A clergyman in England would be laughed at if he preached a sermon against the custom of hanging mistletoe in houses at Christmas; yet that custom is quite as heathenish as those which horrify missionaries abroad. They should also avoid all controversial points; they should conceal from the savage the degrading fact that in times past Christians burnt each other by way of settling different readings of a text; and that in the present day the same hatred burns, though the fires have gone out.

Finally, they should not attempt to interfere with the "customs of the country," and only endeavour to check those abuses which may arise from them. Polygamy and domestic slavery should be countenanced. It is idle to combat with them. But it might be permitted to the missionary to limit the number of wives as Mohammed did, and like Mohammed to enjoin that the slaves be treated kindly.

By pursuing such a line of conduct, the missionary might then gain real influence in the village where he happens to dwell. He might then be able to check vice and crime; to make his parishioners more honest, more sober, and more truthful than they would otherwise be; and he would, at least, earn the admiration of his fellow-countrymen instead of their contempt.

Yours obediently,

W. WINWOOD READE.

James Hunt, Esq., *President of the Anthropological Society of London.*

The adjournment of the discussion was here moved by Mr. G. DIBLEY, seconded by Dr. CHARNOCK, and carried unanimously.

The PRESIDENT announced that the Bishop of Natal would read

his promised paper on missionary work in Africa on the 16th of May, and they should then be in a position to deal more completely with the subject under discussion. Numerous applications had been sent for admission to the meeting on that occasion, and negotiations had consequently been entered into for the purpose of obtaining a larger room for that evening.

The meeting then adjourned.

MAY 2ND, 1865.

THE PRESIDENT, DR. JAMES HUNT, IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Fellows were announced to have been elected:—George Hill, Esq.; Samuel Higgs, Esq., F.G.S., Secretary to the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall, Penzance; G. W. Smith, Esq.; Dr. Hyacinthe Rónay, Membre de l'Académie Royale de Pesth; Rev. W. Arthur, M.R.A.S., F.E.S., Glendun, East Acton; George C. Joad, Esq., Patching, Arundel; Captain W. D. Carey, R.A., Shoeburyness; D. G. F. Macdonald, Esq., C.E., F.R.S.L., F.R.G.S.; James Wilson, Esq., 23, Ryder Street, W.; Rev. W. B. Boyce, 3, Angel Terrace, Brixton; H. R. Twyford, late Captain 36th Regiment, Junior United Service Club, London; H. Duckworth, Esq., F.R.G.S., 5, Cook Street, Liverpool; W. M. Ord, Esq., Brixton Hill.

The following Honorary Fellows have been elected:—Prof. Max Müller, Oxford; Prof. Nilsson, Stockholm; Prof. Gonzales Velasco, Madrid; E. G. Squier, Esq., New York.

Local Secretary abroad:—E. H. Harbour, Esq., B.A., local Secretary for Amoy, China.

THE PRESIDENT stated that information had been received with much pleasure by the Council, announcing the formation of an Anthropological Society at New York. The Council had determined to send them all the publications of the London society. He congratulated the meeting on the evidence which this new society afforded of the extension of anthropological science throughout the world. The President then called on Mr. Dibley, who had moved the adjournment of the discussion on the previous meeting, to resume it. He expressed a hope that gentlemen would be brief.

MR. MEYER HARRIS said he wished to call attention to the manner in which his remarks had been misrepresented by the press, and was proceeding to make some comments, when

THE PRESIDENT interrupted him, and said that he must seek redress elsewhere, as the Society took no cognisance of any remarks made by the press.

MR. DIBLEY* said: The subject under consideration requires calm and unprejudiced examination, so that evidence may be elicited which shall either tend to a complete reformation of the system introduced

* Printed in a condensed form from Mr. Dibley's MS.—ED. J. A. S. L.

by missionaries for the civilisation of savage races, or justify the continuation of the present method of missionary operations. As anthropologists, I presume we must not look for the mere nominal acceptance of dogmatical creeds, which, unhappily, is but too often the mere caricature of religion, but for those good results which are to be observed in a gradual growth of a superior condition of things, through the assimilation of new ideas that have been enforced among the people. We have the statement of Mr. Winwood Reade respecting the results of missionary operations among the Africans; which statement, we all know, is most unfavourable. Certainly, the experience of this gentleman is rather limited, being only of five months duration; but this opinion was endorsed, with but slight qualification, by Captain Burton, Mr. Harris, and Mr. Walker, all of whom had a more lengthened experience in Africa; and the same opinion seemed to prevail with many other Fellows of this Society. The opinion of these gentlemen is, that about £21,000, annually expended in missionary operations on the western coast of Africa, is completely thrown away. Also, that there are sacrificed the lives of a number of Europeans, whose exertions might find more fitting channels among our poor unfortunate heathen population at home. Dr. Seemann has also given us his experience in the Viti islands, which is very unfavourable; the best missionaries even deploring the barrenness of their exertions. Dr. Yvan, physician to the French scientific mission sent to China and Malacca, in the work relating his travels, touches upon the influence of missions, particularly in Malacca. He says, "It is easy to see at a glance that the influence of European civilisation is nearly extinct here. The Portuguese, Dutch, and English have from time to time ruled these people, but the aboriginal manners and opinions predominate at the root. It appears that the savage everywhere is very willing to accept any creed that will give him an advantage or make him prominent." Dr. Yvan relates that, while walking out with a Catholic missionary, they met a native of Dutch origin, who had two sons and a daughter. The missionary soon began questioning the man as to the faith of his family. The man replied that he, his wife, and son Vincent, were Catholics, but his other son and daughter were not. The missionary soon became interested as to the reasons why they were not. The man replied, "You see, father, there are reasons for everything; Vincent, the eldest of our children, is a Catholic, as it is of course necessary that the eldest son should be of our religion. My second son, John, is a Protestant, as I thought that on account of his embracing that faith, some of the English ministers here, who are very powerful, might probably be of use to him. As to my daughter, I was in some doubt as to her religion; but one day, as I was walking with a Mohammedan friend, he told me that his religion was decidedly the proper one for a woman, and she has therefore embraced it." The doctor, with the same missionary, visited a tribe in the vicinity of Malacca, in the direction of Mount Ophir. The people are described as being in the most abject state of dirt and laziness. The missionary, after conversing with them, promised another visit. The doctor asked him, "What good can you

do by another visit? all your efforts in their behalf must be as ineffectual as the administering of medicines to a corpse." Instances are given of the cunning natives continually imposing upon the missionaries; and altogether the facts, as related, seem clearly to indicate that missionary enterprises among savages should either undergo great modification, or be discontinued. I quote the work of Dr. Yvan more particularly, as his statements have not the least reference to the subject which we have under discussion, and may therefore be considered quite impartial. I was rather surprised at the statement of Mr. Harris, that boys who had not been to the mission house or school, are better and more honest than those who have been there. Of course, Mr. Harris does not mean by this that education is not a good thing. Perhaps his experience was unfortunately bad. And it should be taken into consideration that, unless the education that is given becomes incorporated with the deeper faculties of the mind, and thus thoughtfully impresses it, the end desired cannot be produced, but, on the contrary, will make the subject more artful and cunning. This effect may perhaps attend nearly all attempts to educate the savage. We may see similar results among great numbers of our own countrymen. I think there is not a little weight in the suggestion that missionaries should be mechanics, and teach the natives how to make houses, furniture, clothes, boats, and things generally of this description. Would not such a course tend to promote the rudiments of civilisation among them far better than the discordant jargon of creeds opposed to each other? Mr. Burnard Owen, in his paper upon "Missionary Successes and Negro Converts", states that the results have been most satisfactory, and that both the Church of England and Baptist missions had achieved gratifying success, notwithstanding the missionary was met in his evangelising process by the infidel European trader, who opposed the rum-bottle to the Bible. There can be no doubt but that spirituous liquor is a cause of much evil, and must be a powerful opponent of moral principles. But Captain Burton states that many persons who occupy positions in Christian churches, and are considered devout, supply the natives with rum and ammunition—I presume, get their livelihood and accumulate fortunes by such means. Certainly, there appears to me an entire absence of consistency in such conduct. Yet, such inconsistency is not peculiar to Africa. Have we not in our midst numbers of persons who are accumulating fortunes through the ignorance, drunkenness, and degradation of their fellow-creatures, and, unfortunately, are considered Christians? In this respect Islamism, perhaps, has the advantage; and the great superiority in the conduct of its converts over the so-called Christians, may be attributed to the enforcement of habits of abstinence. Missionaries are, perhaps unconsciously, given to write down everything that does not accord with their particular formula; they can see nothing but evil in everything else. But I think there are degrees of good as well as of bad, and that there may be, to the people moulded under the influence of Mohammedanism, some good in it that is suitable to their capacity. Nearly all travellers but missionaries acknowledge this. Would it not be better to

connect ourselves with the little good that may be seen in savages, and endeavour to increase it, rather than waste valuable effort in the endeavour to effect a sudden transition of manners and customs, which are totally at variance with nearly every habit of the people? Mr. Owen gave statistics concerning Sierra Leone. He said, out of the total population of 41,624, only 3,357 remained pagans; 1,734 were Mohammedans, 15,780 were Methodist Christians, and 12,982 were Christians of the Church of England; and that the civilised and moral condition of these people was very different from that represented by Mr. Reade. I ask the missionaries, where is the virtue of their work, if it does not impart to the people a greater capacity for resisting corrupting influences? Mr. Owen referred to the negroes of South Carolina as being much superior, in consequence of religious teaching. If I mistake not, this is rather beside the question; as the condition of the African and South Carolinian negro is very different. I fervently wish that the picture drawn as to the superior condition of savage races through missionary operations was true; but there are cogent reasons for thinking the reverse. The statements and results of missions ought to be subjected to the infallible test of experience, when, probably, it would be found that the results have been vastly exaggerated, and that the whole matter should undergo entire reconstruction. Mr. M'Arthur, in contending for the good results of missionary efforts, said that they had extended our geographical knowledge, and increased our literature. I presume it is scarcely necessary to say that missions have not been established for these purposes. Mr. M'Arthur also stated that many persons believed that one soul was worth more than the whole world. This was said in reply to the objection founded upon the loss of wealth and life. I ask that gentleman, if it would not be more becoming to reasonable beings to convert the souls that are close at hand first; they naturally have stronger claims upon us than savages in far distant countries, under unfavourable conditions. I hope that our friends the missionaries will not produce to us figures and statements of their own compiling, but point to the manifest improvement that has arisen among savages through their teaching. There appeared to me to be some force in the remarks of Mr. Nash, that perhaps the gentlemen may be mistaken who have visited Africa, and formed opinions so very unfavourable to missionary operations. It is well known that good is not to be seen on the surface, while evil and licentiousness boldly come to the top. I think, with Mr. Nash, that surely some good is done, but it appears (considering the amount of means employed) very trifling; and this good may result more through intercourse than the teaching of religious creeds. The best discipline for a savage, is to make him work, so that he may become accustomed to industrious habits. At the same time, he should be led by healthy and manly example; but this, I fear, is seldom to be found among missionaries. Though the expression of these sentiments may not be favourably entertained by some gentlemen, yet I beg of them to reconsider the subject of missions among savages, and see if they have not been supporting a system that can be proved to be incapable of accomplishing the wished-for result. If

so, the missionary method of procedure should undergo an entire reconstruction.

Dr. CHARNOCK* said: I am inclined to think that the missionary societies have been much abused, and that their efforts are entitled to our sympathy; for we cannot suppose that they would devote so much time and spend such large sums of money annually without any *bond fide* object. In Africa, however, Christian missions have made but little progress, and wherever Mohammedans have settled in that part of the world, Christianity has gradually decayed or disappeared. In relation to African missions, we might say, in the words of a writer on a kindred subject:—"In such an atmosphere the rod of the priest can bring forth no buds, the rose of Sharon withers on its stem and the vine can yield no tender grapes." There are several reasons against the success of Christian missions in Africa:—1st. Christians are not yet agreed amongst themselves as to what is the proper form of Christianity, and if they are not, how can they expect the natives of Africa to be wiser than themselves. 2nd. Christian missionaries do not, like those of El Islam, practise what they preach. 3rd. The climate of a great part of Africa is unfavourable to missionary enterprise. 4th. The Mohammedan form of worship is more in accordance with the tastes and habits of the people. It is doubtful, indeed, whether any African conversions have been effected without the aid of ardent spirits. The supply withdrawn, the Negro returns to the religion of his forefathers. And now, let us hope, that having seen the error of their ways, the missionary societies, especially those of Great Britain, especially those who protest against the established church, and spend their time in disputing about trifles, will not waste any more money in an attempt to Christianise the African race. If, in this commercial age, Christianity is *possible*, there are thousands to be Christianised at home; and thousands more who might be saved from starvation with the money fruitlessly sent to Africa. A writer in the *Saturday Review*, says of missionary enterprise in China:—"Certain shrewd Scotchmen have wisely recognised the importance of the help of the medical profession in advancing missionary enterprise, and have done much service by the establishment of a Medical Missionary Society. The Chinese did not see any particular advantage to be gained by changing their joss, but fully appreciated the skill of Dr. Colledge in relieving their physical blindness. It is a coming back to the first lesson of the ancient faiths, when men were taught that the great Sun-God was also the giver of that knowledge which saved them from death, and helped them from pain to ease." This might be useful in the case of Africa. On the last occasion, if I remember rightly, it was alleged that the ancient Britons were first civilised by foreign missionaries. I take it that the early Britons were quite as much indebted for their civilisation to the Romans. Rapin, the historian (who was not without his authorities), after telling us that Agricola gave the finishing blow to the liberty of Britain, says:—"Though the loss of their liberty seemed to be an irreparable damage to the Britons, it was in some measure repaired by the real alteration for

* Printed from Dr. Charnock's manuscript.—ED. J. A. S. L.

the better in their customs and manners, after their being subject to the empire. In a short time they were seen to lay aside their rude and savage ways and assume the politeness of the conquerors. Arts and sciences, little regarded by the Britons before this revolution, flourished among them as much as in any other part of the Roman dominions. In a word, from mere savages, the Britons were become polite and civilised, an advantage the most northern parts of the island have not yet (1732) attained." Even prior to their conversion to Christianity the Britons had some religious notions. Upon the authority of a Burgundian (no doubt one of those sent over by the Emperor Probus), Rapin, among other Druidical maxims, gives the following:—1. Everything derives its origin from Heaven. 2. Great care is to be taken of the education of children. 3. Souls are immortal. 4. If the world is destroyed, it will be by fire or water. 5. Money lent in this world will be repaid in the next. 6. There is another world, and they who kill themselves to accompany their friends thither, will live with them there. 7. Let the disobedient be excommunicated; let him be deprived of the benefit of the law; let him be avoided by all, and rendered incapable of any employ. The Britons are said to have been first converted to Christianity by Joseph of Arimathea, who preached to them A.D. 61, but the charters and MS. relating to the subject have been considered by the best authorities to bear marks of forgery. At all events, Christian missions had made little progress towards the end of the second century; for we find Lucius (*Leuer Mawr*), a British king, dispatching ambassadors to Pope Eleutherius, to request him to send some missionaries to instruct him in the Christian religion. It is not probable that Christianity had much success in Great Britain before the arrival of Augustine, who, with his companions, landed in the Isle of Thanet A.D. 597. It is a mistake to suppose that the only code of morality is to be found in Christianity; other religions, especially that of Mohammed, contain a great deal of sound morality. Again, there are the sacred books of Confucius, upon which are based laws, political and moral, still recognised by Chinese and other peoples who, taken collectively, are estimated at upwards of 400,000. Look at some of the morals of this great philosopher:—"Do to another what you would he should do unto you, and do not unto another what you would not should be done unto you. Thou only needest this law alone, it is the foundation and principle of all the rest." "A magistrate ought to honour his father and mother; he ought never to falter in this just duty; his example ought to instruct the people. He ought not to condemn old persons nor persons of merit; the people may imitate him." "Eschew vanity and pride. Although thou hadst all the prudence and ability of the ancients, if thou hast not humility, thou hast nothing. Thou art even the man of the world that deserves to be condemned." "Desire not the death of thine enemy. Thou wouldst desire it in vain; his life is in the hands of heaven." "Acknowledge thy benefits by the return of other benefits, but never revenge injuries." "Contest night and day against thy vices, and if by thy care and vigilance thou gainest the victory over thyself, courageously attack the vices of others, but attack them not before this be done; there is nothing more ridiculous than to com-

plain of others defects when we have the very same." "We may have an aversion for an enemy without desiring revenge. The emotions of nature are not always criminal." "There are three things that a wise man ought to reverence, the laws of honour, great men, and the words of good men." "Wouldst thou learn to die well? learn first to live well." These precepts have been compared with parts of Christianity, and some have gone so far as to suggest that the latter may have been borrowed from the former. It matters little whether Christianity was borrowed from Confucius or the reverse; it exists, or rather I should say, it *did* exist; for, in later times, the religion of Christ has been superseded by the worship of mammon, cant, and hypocrisy.

Mr. REDDIE read the following speech*:—Mr. President,—I was somewhat disappointed at not being able to speak at our last meeting, my desire being to bring back this discussion to its proper anthropological bearings. But, sir, anxious as I am to do this now, I find it impossible to attempt it, without making some prefatory remarks, not only with reference to the observations of previous speakers, but also with especial reference to the letter from Mr. W. Reade, the reading of which concluded our last evening's proceedings. Sir, I am always glad, when possible, to find points of agreement with those whose opinions, as a whole, I am obliged to controvert and oppose. It affords me satisfaction, therefore, to say that I agree with Mr. Reade that you did right—or perhaps I ought to say that the Council of this Society did right—in permitting the subject of "Christian Missions among Savages" to be discussed here. As a member of the Council of this Society, who was present when Mr. Reade volunteered his paper, and who assented to the discussion of the subject, I am indeed, like you, responsible so far; and I have no wish to shrink from that responsibility, much as I differ from Mr. W. Reade's views, and disapprove of the manner in which he introduced the subject. But, in saying this, I perhaps at same time may be allowed to observe—and, indeed, in justice to you, sir, to the Council generally, and even to myself, I feel bound to observe—1. That Mr. Reade's paper was allowed to be read exceptionally, in special circumstances—he being about to start for Italy—without its being previously submitted for consideration by the Council, and reported on as to its fitness for being read; and 2. That, in no case, whether a paper is so allowed to be read exceptionally, upon the general credit of the author, or whether it be read after previous examination, which is the usual course,—in neither case ought the Society itself to be regarded as in the least degree responsible for the character of any such paper, nor considered as identified with the individual opinions expressed in any paper whatsoever which may be allowed to be read,—and, as we all know is the case, freely criticised,—at our ordinary meetings. I will go further, sir, and say, that in this instance I myself, individually, am extremely glad that Mr. Reade's paper happened to come before us in this exceptional manner, entirely on his own responsibility as to its contents, without any pruning, or correction, or suggested modification by the Council. I am not advo-

* Printed at length from Mr. Reddie's manuscript, and by his express desire, contrary to the advice of the Publication Committee.—ED. J. A. S. L.

cating, of course, any abrogation of our usually wholesome regulations on this subject; though you are aware, sir, that I am one who actually proposed a rule, which has been adopted, the object of which is to prevent the undue rejection of papers. For, indeed, I never would knowingly be party to the rejection of any paper because individually I did not like its facts or arguments. I would far rather err on the side of allowing papers to be read, which may be destined to be refuted and torn to tatters upon discussion, than suppress the views of any Fellow of this Society, or, indeed, of any other man. Any one admitted to our meetings is at liberty to stand up and express his opinions when we are discussing a subject; and we do, what few if any scientific societies as yet can boast of doing—we print the arguments used upon such occasions; and, in fact, though but a young society, we have already earned for ourselves a character for fearlessness and fair play in such matters, which, sir, I feel bound in justice to say is in a great measure due to your own fairness and fearlessness, in the perfectly impartial manner in which you have presided over our deliberations. That it may be thus sometimes right to allow equal freedom also in papers laid before us, will perhaps be best proved by a practical illustration. When Mr. Reade's paper was read, a distinguished prelate was present—Dr. Colenso. Anything he might have been pleased to say upon that occasion, in support of or against that paper, would have been listened to by us with interest, and printed in our Journal. But, sir, Dr. Colenso preferred to deliberate further upon the matter, and promised to read before us a paper on a future occasion, now fixed for the 16th inst.; and I put it to you, sir, and to this meeting (though I know it is almost superfluous to do so), whether it would not be simply absurd, if the Council were to hesitate to accept and welcome a paper, on such a subject, from such a man of mark, himself a missionary bishop, without ever thinking—nay, I will say, presuming to think—of the necessity of its being previously submitted for consideration by the Council, as is ordinarily the case. I am sure, sir, the universal feeling of this Society will be—setting apart all our individual differences—that this is a fair case for an exception to our ordinary rule; and that we shall all be prepared to hear whatever Dr. Colenso may be pleased to say,—claiming at the same time for ourselves (as doubtless he expects) the liberty to consider independently and to criticise most freely all that he may advance. I need scarcely say, sir, why I have deemed it necessary to make these observations. I trust they will be sufficient to prevent a recurrence of misapprehensions as to the position and objects of this Society, such as have unfortunately been entertained and put forth by some writers in the public press during the last few weeks. To them we might fairly say, “Strike, but hear us”; *i.e.* *Hear us out*. And now I beg leave to address myself to the subject under discussion.—In my opinion, sir, the temperate paper read by Mr. Burnard Owen, was somewhat more than an answer to the assertions and gross accusations of Mr. Winwood Reade. Instead, however, of any attempt being made to controvert Mr. Owen's facts or arguments, Mr. Harris, as an African trader, read to us another paper, in the main repeating Mr. Reade's accusations. That paper Capt. Burton

described as being a photograph, pledging his own personal experience to vouch for the accuracy of Mr. Reade's and Mr. Harris's statements; and Mr. Robt. Bruce Napoleon Walker followed upon the same side. Unfortunately, that gentleman is not here this evening; and I regret Mr. Reade's absence. We are, as it were, in this position:—Mr. W. Reade, after chalking up "No Christianity for Negroes" on our notice board, runs away to Italy;—why not to Utah, rather, where he would find what *he* might call a "reformed Christianity", and where polygamy is the right thing, I do not know;—and Mr. Napoleon Walker is off to the Gaboon, after letting off among us his anti-Christian-missionary, though somewhat weak, discharge. Fortunately, Captain Burton remains in London, and I expected him here this evening, to receive the adversary's fire. Mr. Harris is also here, and present; and, although I had imagined that we had sufficiently disposed of Mr. Reade on the evening he read his paper, he has provoked a second castigation by addressing, through you, a lecture to all professing Christians upon their Christian obligations, couched in language such as we usually find only in documents called "Encyclical," that date from Rome, and which differ so far from Mr. Reade's, that they are addressed to those who respect the absolute authority whence they emanate! So far as I know, Captain Burton is the only one who will pay equal respect to Mr. Reade's admonitions. But I fancy that even he, considering the great horror he has expressed of "prayerful puritanism", must have been surprised at Mr. Reade's gushing prophecy of the advent of a new Protestant "reformation, of which Bishop Colenso is to be the Martin Luther"; instead of being treated to some dogma of El Islam, laid down with all the authority which might become a real Marabout, or Mr. W. Reade, on the eve of a new pilgrimage. In passing, I may say that Captain Burton's anti-puritanical feeling seems somewhat inconsistent with his constant admiration of El Islam; the leading characteristic of which he has described to us elsewhere, as being a "peculiar gloom". (*Anthropological Review*, ii, p. 250.) Sir, Mr. W. Reade writes so wildly in his enthusiasm against what he calls "religious ruffianism", as if it meant that it was those "incompetent missionaries—the Wesleyans of the Gaboon"—who had been attempting "to rob Bishop Colenso of his see"; forgetting that although it has indeed been declared, on the highest legal authority in this country, that that see is now little else than a "bubble", yet this has not been done—so far as men can yet discover—in the interest of any "little Bethels" there may be in Africa!—I do not, sir, anticipate that, when Bishop Colenso reads his paper on "Missions", he will either agree with Mr. Reade's views, or arrive at his conclusions; and I do anticipate that we shall have the subject brought before us by Dr. Colenso in such a becoming manner, that Mr. Reade must then, if not before, bethink him of the flagrant improprieties in his own manner of dealing with it. Perhaps it will enable him to realise the fact, that he has laid himself fairly open to censure for what his opponents may consider something very much akin to "*irreligious ruffianism*," even involving, though not so fairly, the character

of this Society. The great fact—and perhaps, indeed, almost the only fact—relied on by Mr. W. Reade, is one to the truth of which Captain Burton has frequently borne witness: namely, the marked progress of Mohammedism in Western Africa. The fact is not new, as I have already said: we have discussed it more than once before in this Society,—not long ago in the presence of the late Governor Freeman of Lagos, whose recent premature decease at Tunis, I am sure we must all lament. I find the fact of Mohammedan progress confirmed by what I may call the most recent authority on this subject: namely, in the official Report of Colonel Ord, “Commissioner appointed to inquire into the condition of the British Settlements on the Coast of Africa,” presented to the House of Commons only last month (Parliamentary Paper, No. 170 of 1865). In it the following passage occurs: “Gambia—There is no doubt but that Mohammedism is slowly but steadily making its way south, and that it will probably eventually exercise its sway over the whole countries in which we have established ourselves.” This advancement of Mohammedism on the one hand, and the alleged failure of Christian missions, characterised as “wretched bubbles”, on the other, are what Mr. Reade and Captain Burton mainly rely upon as facts that support their conclusions. Well, sir, I am prepared to admit as fully proved that Mohammedism is making way among the Negroes; and for the sake of discussion I will also admit, if not that all Christian missions are such “wretched bubbles” as Mr. Reade declares, yet at least that the Christian missionaries have not succeeded everywhere in making converts so well as the Marabouts, or, even let me grant, in so greatly improving the morals of the Negroes. At the same time, it must be remembered that even Mr. Harris, a long resident trader in West Africa, has felt bound to protest that, according to his experience, Mr. Reade’s most sweeping accusations are not true; for Mr. Harris has *not* found “that every Christian negress was a prostitute, and every Christian negro was a thief.” Mr. Reade appears to have been unfortunate in falling into the very worst company in Africa. So much for his five months’ experience—a somewhat dangerous probation for an impressionable young man! But Captain Burton has been no less unfortunate. “After three years’ service on the Western Coast,” he tells us, “he has only met two negroes to whose oaths he would attach the slightest importance.” (*Anthropological Review*, ii, 240.) And if perjury is also to be regarded as a fruit of Christianity, this testifies at any rate to the wide-spread influence of Christianity in West Africa. Only two negroes (Captain Burton tells us) have escaped it! How he never happened to meet, in all this time, any of Mr. Reade’s “honest and truthful” Moslems, he does not say! And, as such statements are so manifestly exaggerated and conflicting, I do not care to ask. Captain Burton has told us that his experience leads him to receive many African travellers’ tales only *cum grano salis*. I follow so prudent an example. But then, sir, after making these concessions, What follows? When I last spoke upon this subject, in Mr. Reade’s presence, I urged that the real practical issue arising out of these premises—for professing Christians at least—was to try and find out, if the Christian missionaries might not learn

something from the Mohammedans of the secret of their success. And, sir, it was therefore a pertinent question raised by Mr. Owen, when he asked Captain Burton to tell us frankly from what standpoint he viewed the subject. But since Captain Burton declined to answer, or, as he called it, refused "to be put into the confessional", I will only now observe that there seems to be an obvious absurdity in those who do not profess to be Christians discussing the merits of Christian missions, whether among savages or elsewhere. For, sir, if men do not believe Christianity to be true, they cannot reasonably be expected to be so impartial as to approve of Christian missions, whether they be successes or "wretched bubbles"; whereas, those who accept Christianity as truth—as Mr. Owen very well said—are not likely to relax their efforts on account of temporary failure; while "retreat" is certainly the very last word that will be pronounced by British Christians so long as they can hope to succeed. This, however, I admit, has not been the issue discussed by those whose arguments I am about to answer; and I pass from it altogether at present, knowing that on a future occasion that issue must be raised, when a professedly Christian missionary bishop will bring this subject again before us. Besides, sir, I maintain that not even an attempt has been made to answer Mr. Owen. Those who have spoken or written on the other side do not appear to have studied the working of Christian missions. They give their own outside experiences merely; and I therefore limit myself to answering what they have placed on record. In doing so I have departed from my hitherto invariable habit, by putting my arguments on paper. I have done so, because the tenour and tone of this whole discussion has been so unusual. In this Society heretofore, I have generally spoken briefly; I think always with the calmness becoming our usual discussions; and I believe without ever giving offence to any with whom I may have differed in opinion; without obtruding Christian doctrines, or quoting texts of Scripture, like Mr. Reade. To-night I am obliged to be more severe—in reply to what I may truly call a "savage" style of argument—and, if I am obliged to use the caustic freely and to cut unflinchingly, I am anxious to show, by writing what I say, that I do not speak thus in the mere heat of debate. Besides two papers by Mr. Reade, two by Captain Burton, and one by Mr. Harris, have been read, also two this evening, with only one by Mr. Owen in reply, and I am anxious that this disproportion should be compensated on our side. I may, however, remark incidentally, before I begin my criticism, that as not even Mr. Winwood Reade—with all the ignorance he went out of his way to display as to Christian doctrine—dare allege that Christianity either inculcates unchastity or theft, but, as he very well knows, condemns them both as sins; his main thesis, that Christian missionary teaching has converted the negroes and negresses into thieves and prostitutes, is a strange one to be publicly broached before a scientific society in a Christian country. His position is not that there are thieves and prostitutes in Africa, as, unfortunately, there are in England, in spite of Christianity; but actually in consequence of it. His whole argument at best is a puzzle-headed confusion of the *ante hoc*, *post hoc*, and

propter hoc. "What is the use," he exclaims, "of a Christian mission, if a man goes to church in the morning and burns a witch alive in the afternoon?" Really, sir, it is not only Christianity which Mr. Reade has neglected to learn something about, either before or "since he was sixteen," but he has even neglected to study English history. The great and good Sir Matthew Hale, exactly two hundred years ago (in 1664), as a judge in this country, condemned two persons to death for witchcraft; and yet he was a very good Christian; and he was also—as we learn from Mr. Bendyshe's valuable "History of Anthropology" in our *Memoirs*—a far advanced anthropologist even in that early age. But though Mr. W. Reade seems pusillanimously to argue, "Shut up the churches in Africa and let the burning of witches go on,"—we, sir, who profess to be Christians, say "No—rather go on in Africa as in England, till, by means of the Christian teaching in the churches, the burning of witches and witchcraft are extirpated." Sir, as Mr. McArthur and Mr. Nash both pertinently argued, Christianity as a religion destined for being taught among all nations and peoples, savage and civilised—has, wherever it goes, to struggle, and it has successfully struggled, with the superstitions and prejudices it has everywhere encountered. It is itself often temporarily damaged in its character through such adverse and evil influences; and besides any consequent corruptions which may have sometimes infected Christianity, it is also a very old story that both Christianity and its professors have been falsely and maliciously traduced. In a very early age of the Christian era, the despised Christians were represented as worshipping an ass's head and sacrificing and feasting upon infants. Such were the charges of ignorance and impudence against primitive Christianity. But if we consider that these slanders were invented when Christianity was little known in the world, and when there was no wide-spread circulation of the Christian Scriptures, such slander may be regarded as in fact less scandalous and as more excusable than the fresh accusations coarsely made by Mr. W. Reade. But, sir, if we may not have Captain Burton in the confessional, I claim to put him into the witness-box, and that for the express purpose of disproving the assertions or arguments of Mr. Reade, for which he has made himself jointly responsible. The proverbial "appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober," we all have heard of; and I, sir, shall mainly appeal from the papers I have heard Captain Burton read after dinner at our evening meetings, to what I have read of his, in print, in quieter moments, written in the *Anthropological Review*. Nor can he fairly complain of this as "personal"; for who else would he believe, were I to cite the missionaries or other witnesses,—excepting always, of course, Mr. Winwood Reade? And, though "metal upon metal", as brass upon brass, "is bad heraldry", I shall for the same reason be obliged to appeal from the paper and epistle Mr. Reade has boldly put before us, while setting out upon fresh travels—I believe this time in search of the romantic—to what he had previously stated before us, with pretty nearly equal assurance, soon after his return from searching for bubbles and female ideas in Africa. These two gentlemen, then, have told us of the success of Mohammedism; but they have also

been rash enough to tell us "the reason why"; and that reason is, in a word, "polygamy"! "The forbidding of polygamy," said Mr. Reade, "alone will prevent Africa from becoming nominally Christian." Now, sir, I am not going to say all I might against polygamy this evening. I wish my present arguments to be appreciable even by the admirers of El Islam. And for their sakes I will even acknowledge there are worse religions than Mohammedism, and worse things, morally, than polygamy. The merely amateur Moslems, who are only theoretical polygamists after all, cannot quite speak of that institution from "personal experience." They may know something practically of polygamy or polygenation, including what has well been characterised as "the filthy theory" of miscegenation; and this polygamy I may be allowed perhaps to define, as a kind of bastard polygamy, which some men practise, but, unlike the real polygamist, without troubling themselves either with the responsibilities or the duties of husbands or of fathers. But then, sir, I must also admit that, though without experience as actual polygamists themselves, they may have had extensive converse and intimacy with the wives of polygamists; and, at least, we have their own word for it, that they know the negresses are furious for polygamy! That Mr. W. Reade should come and tell us this, did not surprise me, after hearing what he said before; but that that distinguished traveller and anthropologist, Captain Richard Burton, V.P.A.S.L.—a society which (with great good taste) does not admit females to its meetings—that he should come here also to tell us this, I confess, does indeed astound me! It is, in my opinion, to fetch either social science or anthropological science, to say nothing of religion, from a very strange quarter indeed; and, sir, I shall be generous towards our gallant—and, I fear, in this only too gallant—Vice-President, by making him a present of the argument, together with its dark and frail authority. In truth, I know not what to make of this sombre anthropology in petticoats—scanty as their dimensions may be. When we go to the vote before some Social Science Congress on this grand question of polygamy, I shall expect to see the poor degraded "sandwich men" walking up and down placarded, not with "Bumble for Beadle", as in a parochial election, nor—as was not many years ago the case in our streets—with "Read the Parthenon, a journal of Scientific Advancement, edited by C. W. Goodwin", etc.; but with "Go and hear Mr. Winwood Reade at the Polygraphic Hall. The negresses and Reade for polygamy"! But, sir, to be somewhat more grave, I wish to ask how polygamy can possibly be the main cause of the success and popularity of Mohammedism in Africa, when we know, as Captain Burton has himself assured us, that "Polygamy is nowhere prevalent among the mass of the population, being necessarily limited to the comparatively wealthy"? (*Anthropological Review*, ii, 240.) That Mr. Reade should think so, or say so, is not surprising; for you remember, he sneeringly told us also just before, that "Women are always the pillars of the church", as the result of his Christian experience in England; and if he learnt so little here to any purpose, we cannot expect him to have learnt very much in Africa. So he added that, "When the negroes were required by their Christian

teachers to give up their wives upon being baptised, they were indignant,—as well they might be,” says Mr. Reade, “at the impertinence of these foreigners in making such a request”; while “the wives especially were furious”. In the same paper, this confident but inconsiderate anthropologist tells us how differently the negro accepts Mohammed’s wiser law on this subject:—“He,” says Mr. Reade, “did not attempt to oust polygamy—he limited the number of wives to four.” And here is Mr. Reade’s argument:—The Marabout goes to King Sambo, and says, “How many wives have you Sambo?” Sambo answers, “One hundred and twenty.” “Then,” says the Marabout, “you must put away a hundred and sixteen of them;” and Sambo at once submits—perhaps he even joins Mr. W. Reade in admiration of the wisdom of El Islam,—or, what Mr. Reade assures us, is “Oriental Christianity.” Even the wives—the hundred and sixteen wives—we are led to believe, are, in such a case, *not* furious. The real Christian teacher then comes upon the scene; and he requires Sambo, or “some other nigger,” to put away only three wives, or it might be only one or two, and to be content, like most niggers, with one; when, all of a sudden, Mr. Reade takes up his parable against the Christian missionary, and bawls frantically, “What impertinence!” Sir, I do not think it necessary to say where the impertinence really lies. There certainly seems to be some influence in Africa that affects both morals and manners deleteriously—nay, that weakens the very intellect. For, as to polygamy being requisite in order to keep up the population (another argument we have heard), I consider that to be so totally at variance with all our statistical knowledge, that I pass on to the more important point—the morality of polygamy among savages. Quoting Professor Waitz, in allusion to the common assertion that, where polygamy exists, conjugal fidelity is very lax, Captain Burton says, “the author might have stated that the very reverse may be predicated with an equal amount of truth.” (*Anth. Rev.*, ii, p. 240.) But this is obscurely oracular; and I am sorry to be obliged to say, that I think Captain Burton is over-reticent as to his actual experience in this matter. We are still destitute of the truth he might tell us about it. Neither Mr. Reade nor Capt. Burton has condescended to mention what are the reasons—although they doubtless know very well—*why* the negroes like polygamy. I shall not, therefore, go into these reasons; but I am prepared to do so whenever the advocates of polygamy among savages venture to put them forward in discussion. (See Waitz, i, p. 299.) Perhaps Capt. Burton will decline to say more than he has done; and we must be content to wait till he does favour the world with his confessions. They will no doubt be curious. I must now, therefore, cite another authority, one who has lived “where polygamy exists.” I cite from our own *Memoirs* (vol. i, p. 323)—the author Mr. W. T. Pritchard, F.A.S.L., etc. Speaking of the Samoans, Mr. Pritchard says: “By the strict native customs, every village or town provides a *fale tele*, or free hotel, where all travellers are received and fed gratuitously. . . . Attached to all these *fale-tele* are certain women, etc. . . . They are generally the cast off wives of young chiefs, who by the rites (*sic*) of

polygamy may have as many wives at a time as they please, and may change them by putting away and taking others. . . . But once the wife of a chief—however lowly, however high her birth—inexorable customs forbids her becoming the wife of another man; a girl is always his, though the chief may have cast her off for years. Her only resource is to attach herself to the *fale-tele*, where she may become the *convenience* of travellers”, etc. This, sir, in a country “where polygamy exists”; and one in which, also, Mr. Pritchard informs us, “the chastity of the daughters of the chief is the pride and boast of their tribes.” What then, I ask, must be the moral effects of polygamy, in a country in which you, sir, have informed us—quoting M. Pruner-Bey—“the negro cares little for the chastity of his daughter, and prostitutes his slaves” (*Negro's Place in Nature*, p. 39); where “the husband or father is quite careless.” (*Ib.*, p. 49.) Nay, sir, where, quoting even Mr. Winwood Reade, you tell us, “The typical negroes dwell in petty tribes, where all are equal except the women, who are slaves. . . . The typical negro, unrestrained by moral laws, spends his days in sloth, and his nights in debauchery. He smokes haschisch till he stupefies his senses, or falls into convulsions; he drinks palm-wine till he brings on a loathsome disease; he abuses children, and stabs the poor brute of a woman whose hands keep him from starvation, and he makes a trade of his own offspring.” (*Ib.*, p. 47.) You quote the same authority also, sir, to tell us that, “putting all exceptions aside, the women of Africa are very inferior beings.” (*Ib.*, p. 46.) And on this point I agree with Captain Burton, when he says that Mr. Reade may speak from personal knowledge; for “besides the days he spent under the roof of two American missionaries”, and “the days which he spent in actual travelling”, he has told us in his very candid *Savage Africa*, that he did spend some days—or at least some nights—under other roofs; and he gives us some account of how he then occupied himself: to wit, in actually beslobbering the oily faces (to say no more) of those swarthy, high-smelling “brutes” and very “inferior beings”—those “not nice animals”—the negresses; who, he now tells us, with the pride of superior knowledge, are all for polygamy! What! sir, is the *vox populi, vox Dei*, now to resolve itself into this—the voice of furious negresses, re-echoed unblushingly in England by Mr. Winwood Reade and Capt. Burton? Or is this a symptom that the advanced opinion so lately propounded to Westminster by Mr. John Stuart Mill, in favour of female suffrages, has penetrated even to the Conservative Club, which Mr. Reade sometimes patronises, although, if not in politics, at least in religion, he is an uncompromising radical “reformer”—that is, after the fashion of Mohammed? But, sir, since I have referred to your memoir on *The Negro's Place in Nature*, I must quote on; for you have certainly much to unlearn and to unsay about the negro character, if Mr. Winwood Reade's present statements are to stand good. “‘Show me a black man, and I will show you a thief,’ say the traders” (p. 59); that is, provided the black man be a Christian, must now be added, according to Mr. Reade. Quoting the author of *Wanderings in West Africa*, you tell

us that "In Sierra Leone the Christian tenderness of the *British Government* has tended to demoralise the natives. . . . The women have become as vicious as those of Egypt, the worst of kingdoms—worse than the men, bad as they are" (p. 57). But now, sir, to this you must add, upon the experience of Mr. Reade's five months' trip, that it is not the too tender laws of the government, but the teaching and example of the Christian missionaries, that have produced this lamentable state of things. You must elevate the original negro and negress to a higher place in nature, and tell us that all the evidence you adduced of their physical, and especially of their mental and moral (p. 4) differences and inferiority, compared with us, applies only to the Christians among them! You say, sir (p. 27), that "the assertion that the negro only requires an opportunity for becoming civilised, is disproved by history." And you add, "not only has the negro race never civilised itself, but it has never accepted any other civilisation." But, it would appear, you were grossly ignorant of the present "great reformation" going on, and of how Mohammedism is civilising the negro! It is very true, sir, that in your memoir you also quoted some rather old authors; as, for instance, from Mr. W. Bosman in 1705, when I fear few Christian, and at least no Protestant or puritan missionaries had as yet found their way to Africa, to corrupt its pristine innocence. "Bosman writes, 'the negroes are all, without exception, crafty, villanous, and fraudulent.'" (p. 41.) But, sir, as the London Missionary Society did not hold its first meeting till 1794, nearly one hundred years later, all that Bosman says, and you too credulously believed, must be, of course, a mistake. Or perhaps Mr. Reade will attribute this universal negro demoralisation entirely to the influence of the Portuguese conversion of Congo in the fifteenth century, even although "Wesleyan missionaries" did not exist at that time! But, sir, you also quote Col. Hamilton Smith as saying, that "*even* Christianity of more than three centuries' duration in Congo has scarcely excited a progressive civilisation" (p. 44); and that, I believe, sir, was Christianity *without* "Protestant divisions". But how ignorant Col. Smith and you must be, according to Mr. Reade, to suppose that Christianity could do aught but *uncivilise*! But I must take leave of your exploded evidences as to the inherent character of the negroes generally, curious to learn how far you are now prepared to correct them on the assurance of Mr. W. Reade. For myself, I cannot accept his authority as worth much; for this simple reason (besides others I have already given), because I cannot understand contradictions; and I am now about to show that Mr. Reade not only contradicts other people, but contradicts himself. For instance, in his recent paper, he described the Wesleyan missionaries of the Gambia as "incompetent men, and so also, with rare exceptions, those of the Church of England." He also alleged that some of the vessels, selected (as he called it) to bottle up religious oxygen, "are not of the most cleanly character"; and that "many missionaries are so ignorant or knavish, that no work of this kind could prosper at their hands." In his pseudo-Christian epistle, read by you the other evening, as a kind of valedictory sermon, he used, I

think, even stronger language against these devoted Wesleyans. But, when we discussed your *Memoir*, in Nov. and Dec. 1863 (*Journal*, ii, p. xli), Mr. Reade, then fresh from Africa, expressly declared, "*I have nothing to say against the Wesleyan missionaries in Sierra Leone; they are a very good kind of men*"; nay, he then contradicted in anticipation, also, what he as well as Mr. Harris has since alleged against them as to their bad character and idleness; for he then said, "I believe them to be a *pious, hard-working* people." On that occasion, also, Mr. Reade gave us a different and more sober explanation of the probable cause of the success of El Islam. He never once then said that this was due to polygamy, but to temperance and education. His words were then (p. xix), "The Mohammedans at present are civilising a great part of Africa, by converting the inhabitants to their own religion, and by teaching them Arabic (for wherever the Mohammedans go the Koran goes with them), and by elevating their character in every possible way. For example, they forbid drunkenness, which is the great vice of the negro, but which the laws of the Mohammedan religion forbid." Well, sir, I think this is very sensible, though it characteristically ignores the fact that Christianity also forbids drunkenness. It sounds something like the voice of "Philip sober", notwithstanding Captain Burton's reiteration the other evening of Mr. Reade's grand argument—the negresses' views of polygamy! Nay, sir, in his book on *Savage Africa*, Mr. Reade has written other sensible things about the negro. Talking of imitating the "noble savage—the child of nature"—as some have advised, he indignantly asks, "Must we instruct our children in vice at the tenderest possible age, and sell them in marriage as soon as they arrive at puberty? Must we make our wives mothers when they are scarcely girls; treat them as slaves when they are women, and kill them when they are old?" (quoted in *Anth. Review*, vol. ii, p. 125) and so on; and he does not then charge that lamentable state of things upon missionaries or Christianity, nor think it would be much of an argument to tell either Englishmen or Christians, even if they happen to be Fellows of the Anthropological Society, that the negresses are quite content with this state of utter degradation!—But, sir, I have yet another witness to cross-examine on the same side—Capt. Burton himself. In November 1864, the great success of Mohammedism was not due to polygamy, in Captain Burton's opinion, nor was the demoralisation of the negroes due to the bad example or the teaching of Christian missionaries. Here was, then, our Vice-President's sober judgment. Quoting Professor Waitz, he says, "Too much attention cannot be given to this assertion: 'THE INTERCOURSE OF A FOREIGN COUNTRY MAY BECOME A CURSE, IF THE NATIVES ARE PROVIDED WITH BRANDY, FIRE-ARMS, AND SIMILAR ARTICLES WHICH LEAD TO THEIR DESTRUCTION.'" These words Captain Burton had printed all in capitals in the *Anthropological Review* (ii, p. 247); and he adds from himself, "The English trade with the oil rivers of the Biafran Bight, to mention no other places, is I believe a greater curse to the country, a more effectually demoralising agent, and a greater disgrace to a civilised people, than any evil that ever prevailed amongst the aborigines. The Christian merchants"

[not *missionaries*, be it observed] “of Zanzibar have inflicted the same miseries upon the East African coast.” Sir, I think this testimony goes to substantiate Mr. Burnard Owen’s thesis, and refutes all Mr. Winwood Reade’s most scandalous accusations. But there is nothing in it very new, though I am glad to cite Captain Burton as a recent witness. Did time allow, I could adduce the same proofs, and even more important facts, from a host of witnesses who were examined before a Parliamentary Committee in 1837; but I refrain. I am anxious to prove almost everything by citations from our own anthropological publications, for the very credit of the Society. One brief sentence, however, I shall quote from that committee’s report, as bearing intimately upon the whole issues of these discussions. The committee came to this conclusion, after taking much evidence—and one of that committee was the present eminent, clear-headed, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Gladstone—“It is not too much to say, that the intercourse of Europeans in general, without any exception in favour of the subjects of Great Britain, has been, *unless when attended by missionary exertions*, a source of many calamities to uncivilised nations.” May I go on, and quote another six lines? “Too often their territory has been usurped; their property seized; their numbers diminished; their character debased; the spread of civilisation impeded. European vices and diseases have been introduced among them, and they have been familiarised with the use of the most potent instruments, for the subtle or the violent destruction of human life, namely, brandy and gunpowder.” (*Blue Book*, p. 5.) But, sir, while we may read a great deal like this about traders, as well as other travelling Europeans, not very new, and though we have been told much about Christian missionaries, which, if new, is not very true, we have not been told as much about El Islam as we might have expected to hear from our outspoken travellers, who are so well informed in their own opinion. One cause of the failure of Christian missions, Mr. Harris attributes to their divisions into sects, which may be true to a certain extent; and we have tacitly been led to suppose there are no divisions in the perfect system of El Islam. But in Col. Ord’s Report, from which I have already quoted, I find he says that “between these two classes [he is speaking of two classes of Moslems in the Gambia] there is an unfortunate animosity, which is constantly bringing them into collision. . . . For two years past a fanatic of the name of Maba has been preaching a crusade against the unbelievers of his race, and after desolating a large tract of country on the right of the river, burning the towns, and carrying into captivity the inhabitants, he was finally checked by the influence of the governor,” etc. (p. 8). This seems worse than any effects of “Christian divisions” on record! The Moslems, it would appear, are not yet quite in a paradisiacal state, even in West Africa! Their Utopian condition exists, like other Utopias, only in the imagination of their far-off, and, perhaps therefore, more enthusiastic admirers. Even the history of Savage Africa, it seems, must be “dashed with a little poetry”—and that even by our experienced travellers, as well as by the literary lounge! Captain Burton incidentally declared “trial by jury in Africa to be a farce”; and I was not surprised to

hear this, considering what we know of its working occasionally nearer home. But yet, I find appended to Col. Ord's Report a petition from nine traders at Lagos, in which they complain, "We are refused to be tried by juries!"—I think, sir, it was Mr. Walker who adduced, as an argument against perpetuating Christian missions in Africa, the case of a poor negro who sang hymns when he was drunk! And the same gentleman managed also to lug into this discussion the naughty conduct of his own associates in Glasgow, who drink too much whisky-toddy on the Sunday evenings! Perhaps, sir, following Mr. Reade, he thinks that *therefore* Christianity had better cease to be taught in Glasgow! More logical moralists—to say nothing of anthropologists—might, on the contrary, think that Mr. Walker's friends want rather to be taught to add to their faith—if they profess the Christian faith—some sterner virtue, and a better knowledge of Christian morals, especially temperance. As regards the poor negro and his hymn,—this, too, is a very old story. In this room (Royal Society of Literature), Mr. Walker might have remembered the piety of Michael Cassio in his cups! I have heard, too, of one authentic case, in which a gentleman acquired a lasting distaste for Christianity itself, from being blamed (by some meddlesome females) for too lustily singing hymns, in his days of youth and innocence, I believe when perfectly sober;—of others (like the Moor's lieutenant) who go fairly down on their knees when not in that condition;—not in Africa, but here in England!—And, sir, having given some attention to psychology—as a proper branch of anthropology—and remembering the well worn adage, *in vino veritas*, I have always set down these indications, of what was beneath the surface, rather to the credit of those who exhibited them. It might be well, indeed, for many civilised Europeans, passing outwardly for Christians, if never worse things than hymns or prayers escaped their lips, when "overtaken" (as we call it) "with wine"! But, to conclude. It was very well put in one of the newspapers, when commenting upon our last meeting, that the issue of this discussion had come to be simply a question of Traders *versus* Missionaries—that is, Which of these classes are the real demoralisers of the negroes? I think I have produced some important evidence bearing upon that issue—which, I beg to say, is none of my raising. I shall add one other brief testimony, by a distinguished African traveller. He says: "The Christian traders"—that is, traders who are so-called Christians, because they are white or come from England; but not, at any rate, the Christian missionaries—No—my present witness says—"the Christian traders on the West African coast have made the traffic [in ardent spirits] a curse far heavier than the slave export." I quote from the *Anthropological Review*, vol. ii, p. 240. These are the words of Capt. Richard Burton; and they ought, in my opinion, to be now printed in *Italics*, for the edification of Mr. Winwood Reade.

The Rev. Mr. SCHRENK, who said he was a missionary from the Gold Coast (of the Bâle mission), thought several mistakes had been made in the course of the discussion. They had been told that a sum of £21,000 had been spent for missions on the west coast of Africa; but the fact was, there had been a larger sum expended. They had

been told by Dr. Charnock that some of the most beautiful of Christian precepts had been borrowed from Confucius. With regard to polygamy, which was allowed by Mohammed, it could not be said to be in accordance with the precept of doing unto others what you would that they should do unto you; for every man likes to have his own wife or wives: he does not allow another man to share with him. If that be the case, he should allow the same privilege to his wife, *i. e.*, she should have the right to have a husband without other women sharing with her. They had heard it said that the missionaries should not only preach, but should teach the people how to work. For his own part he placed much confidence in words. The spoken and written word is a power in the world. At that meeting, for instance, they heard lecturers address them, and they could not but feel that the words they heard had influence on their minds. If a reasonable missionary spoke with full confidence in the words he uttered, the same confidence would be imparted to those who heard him, and they might feel justified in trusting to his preaching. But it was not true that the missionaries neglected to teach the negroes how to work. He worked with his own hands, and, after working at manual labour during the day, he worked with his pen at night. He and others worked in their shops with the negroes in teaching them various mechanical arts. There were many negroes at his station who could make locks; there were carpenters and joiners; and there was one man who had made all the furniture in his own house, which he had fitted out in a superior manner. Under the influence of the missionaries, the negroes had begun to make roads; thirty-five miles of road into the interior of the country had already been constructed. The converted negroes had also plantations of coffee and cotton. There were some black missionaries on the west coast of Africa who were so far reclaimed from their original state as to have become sober, honest, industrious, and men of character. If a man has lived in the black country for years, he would be convinced of the benefits derived from missionary efforts. Could it be supposed that societies consisting of men of science and intelligence would go on for thirty years, and longer, sacrificing health and money, if they could point to no satisfactory results from their missions? And if negroes had become worse by their efforts than they were before, we would appeal to their reason and their understanding if it were likely for a reasonable missionary to continue his residence in such an unhealthy climate. At Sierra Leone, he could state from his own experience that there were 170 boys in the school there, a number of whom go to industrial shops and learn trades. At Sierra Leone, indeed, nine missionary congregations were self-supporting, the negroes paying their missionaries and teachers. No better instance could be afforded of the success of their efforts than that. In opposition to these facts they had only the statements of traders and hearsay evidence. Then he would mention the name of Mr. Hoffmann (American missionary in Cape Palmas), a man of a high moral character. He had stayed at Cape Palmas many years, and could point satisfactorily to the successful results of his labours. He (Mr. Schrenk) visited Mr. Hoffmann in company of Captain Burton, and Captain Burton himself thinks very

highly about Mr. Hoffmann. The American missionaries had erected a hospital there for British and other sailors; and Englishmen ought to acknowledge thankfully the benefits which even British sailors derive from that hospital. At Cape Coast Castle and along that coast they would find hundreds of people who had passed through the Wesleyan schools, and could read, write, and cipher very creditably. A number of native merchants trading with England would not be found there were there no Wesleyan schools. In the church missionary schools at Abeokuta he could point to the Rev. Mr. Hinderer, who has been living there for many years, without European comforts, in prosecuting the work of teaching and converting the natives; and was it likely he would continue to do that if there were no results? The missionaries he could confidently say had done great things in western Africa, and the British public had no reason to complain in the regard to money spent for those missions.

The PRESIDENT said the speeches had been so long, that he must limit the remainder to ten minutes each.

The Rev. J. MARTIN, a missionary from the Gold Coast, resented the attacks on the missionaries that had been made by Captain Burton, Mr. Reade, and Mr. Harris. Reflections had been made on the missionaries on the alleged grounds that they went about wearing black coats and stiff neckties, and keeping themselves aloof from the people. Now the fact was, that a black coat would not be endurable in that climate, and it was his practice to wear a short light jacket. It has been alleged against them, also, that they lived luxurious lives. Now the truth was, that the missionaries, when visited by European friends, brought out their best to entertain them; and Mr. Harris was not the only one who had partaken of their hospitality and afterwards abused them for it. In considering the question—what is the success of missionary labours, they should bear in mind what they have a right to expect. Christianity had not been established in this country till after long repeated efforts; and if our own countrymen had been so long in taking hold of the truths of the Gospel, why should it be made a matter of complaint that it had not made greater progress in Africa? It had been said by Mr. Reade that all the converted negroes were thieves; but for his own part he could aver that he had never lost a penny by them. Against the principles and practice of the missionaries, the whole extent of Mr. Harris's charges against them was that there had been ten failures, and from those he inferred that the failures had been universal. He could adduce numerous instances in which the men had maintained their honesty, and the women their chastity for many years. One testimony, at least, which would be admitted to be unbiassed, as to the value of missionary exertions, was to be found in a letter from Dahome, addressed to the Wesleyan Missionary Society.

The PRESIDENT requested the speaker to mention the name of his authority, as it was customary in that Society to have the signature to any letter read before the letter itself.

The Rev. J. MARTIN said the letter was written by Richard F. Burton, and was dated June 13th, 1863. The following is the letter alluded to :

"To the Members of the Wesleyan Committee:— " Whydah, June 13th, 1863.

" GENTLEMEN,—I cannot terminate my journey to Dahomey without expressing my gratitude to your missionary at Whydah, the Rev. Mr. Bernasko. That gentleman not only made my visit pleasant by his kindness and civility, but also enabled me, by his influence with the king, to contribute my hints in the cause of humanity and civilisation. Having heard that you entertain an idea of removing the Wesleyan missionary from Whydah, I would respectfully suggest to you the advisability of adopting a wholly different course—of strengthening rather than abolishing it; and wholly unsolicited I have ventured to address to you these few lines. I am, gentlemen, yours, etc., " RICHARD F. BURTON."

Captain FISHBOURNE said that he had had much experience on the west coast of Africa, but that experience was not such as to bear out the assertions of Mr. Reade. In considering the question of the results of missionary efforts they should bear in mind the materials with which the missionaries have to deal. He had been employed for some time off the coast of Sierra Leone in suppressing the slave trade. The negroes when taken out of the slave ships were in such a state of prostration that they required to be nursed for three months. He had seen 2,500 lying about the slave-yards in the most grotesque attitudes, something resembling paper-jointed men. He knew that at least 10,000 slaves within a very short period had been liberated at Sierra Leone. He could speak as to the condition of the schools of the missionaries, as he had given much attention to the subject, and he did not think that any one would abuse the Christian missionaries there if they knew what Christianity was. The children in the missionary schools might put to the blush the Christian schools of this country. In Sierra Leone the greater part of the population have been slaves, and he has known many who have been converted to Christianity who act as missionaries, and it was remarkable to observe the striking contrast between them and unconverted negroes. Among the number he might mention Samuel Crowther. He was eighteen months in the ship with Capt. F., and was made the seamen's schoolmaster. He was then about twenty-five years of age, and notwithstanding the prejudices of the sailors to the black man, they submitted willingly to be taught by him, and treated him with great respect. He has now been made a bishop in connexion with the Church of England. The condition of Liberia fully justified what had been said of it by the missionaries, and their influence was extending widely. At Zanzibar the influence exercised by the traders on the negroes was exceedingly injurious. Their statements might be true, but it should be borne in mind that there are two classes of negroes in Africa, as there are different classes in this country, and the bad might be exceptional and the good the rule. In this as in other matters they should look on both sides of the shield.

Mr. A. A. FRASER, who said he had spent much time in the Pacific, especially at the Friendly Islands, was about to state what the missionaries had done there, when

The PRESIDENT said the discussion for that evening must be confined to the subject treated of in Mr. Owen's paper.

Mr. C. CARTER BLAKE said:* I feel some diffidence in addressing you on this subject, as the two opposing lines of argument which most of my predecessors have adopted render the *tertium quid* which I would be inclined to advocate probably unacceptable to a vast

* Printed from Mr. Carter Blake's manuscript.—ED. J. A. S. L.

majority of you. A Fellow of the Anthropological Society of London has, however, a perfect right to say what he chooses, and I trust that my remarks will be no exception to the general rule. Whether I view this question by the light which may have been thrown on it by Mr. Burnard Owen, or by that of Mr. Winwood Reade, in both cases I am struck with the mutual desire to bring forward as few facts as possible in behalf of the illustrated doctrine, and the inclination to throw the burden of interpreting an unintelligible statement upon the adversary. To take Mr. Winwood Reade's argument, even supposing that the inefficacy of Protestant missions had been triumphantly demonstrated by Mr. Winwood Reade, this would be no argument that negro civilisation and negro conversion were impossible. That immoralities may be demonstrated amongst the missionaries must be admitted; the fact is too patent to admit either apology or justification. But even on the theory that in every deep there is a lower deep still, still this argument is about on a par with that adduced by Mr. Burnard Owen, that it is the trader whose sale of rum interferes with the promulgation of the "Gospel." Considering that some Protestant missionaries who are permitted to trade, sell spirits and ammunition to the negroes, it is much to be desired that the exceedingly weak argument of depreciating the moral character of one's antagonist should be discarded on both sides. It is, however, not in the slightest degree necessary for any one to identify himself with the opinions which Mr. Reade advocates, whilst condemning those which Mr. Burnard Owen has endeavoured to prove. I dissent most strongly from nearly everything which Mr. Reade has said; nay, I regret that he has adopted a tone of language both in his original paper and in the letter which was read on his behalf at the last meeting, which has necessitated the use of expressions equally derogatory to the rules of scientific discussion on the other side of the argument. The probable truth of the question seems to be neither on the side of Mr. Reade, nor on that of his more temperate and less experienced antagonists. That some missionaries may be immoral or foolish is a fact, which although true, leads to no other practical result than to demonstrate the truism that in every part of the world where men are placed, who may have the misfortune to be unable to resist the temptations to crime which climate and society afford, vice is the necessary result. This is a fact which is anthropologically as true of missionaries as of any other men; and while we must admit that missionaries are no exception to the rule, we should recollect that, *cæteris paribus*, it has not been proved that there are a greater proportion of evil men amongst missionaries than amongst soldiers, traders, or even travellers. Many missionaries, even on the showing of Mr. Reade, are holy and devout men, who are actuated with no desire of self-aggrandisement, no incentive to the perpetration of licentious or of avaricious crime. This fact is universally admitted, and it no doubt has its due weight with the dispassionate observer. On the other hand, when Mr. McArthur cites instances of the wondrous moral aptitude displayed by some of his hypothetical negroes, a great amount of incredulity is excited in the breast of the anthropologist. When he tells us of the moral virtues which some of his instances of negro

Christianity display, we would desire to be furnished with the names, dates, and localities of these extraordinary mental phenomena. One of his instances may be alluded to. "Bishop" Crowther is frequently cited as an example of the civilised negro, improved by the missionaries out of the hold of the slaver. Now, unless Mr. McArthur has had some positive physical evidence of "Bishop" Crowther's truly negro parentage (I mean such physiological evidence as would satisfy a jury in the Divorce Court), I must throw all the weight of proving his improbable thesis on himself. The predominance of Haoussa blood in the neighbourhood where "Bishop" Crowther states that he was born is significantly omitted from the discussion, and those who have ever seen this highly educated African will, while admitting the darkness of his complexion and the woolliness of his hair, prefer, as in many other cases where the parentage of the negro is discussed, to avoid this delicate question. The story which is cited by Mr. Burnard Owen of the negro student who begged for copies of Alford's *Greek Testament*, Maunder's *Treasury of Universal Knowledge*, Spurgeon's *Sermons*, and other depositories of critical, elementary, or superfluous information, he must pardon me for saying that I take "*cum libro salis*". If any of our West African travellers will tell us what the negroes do with these books, even supposing them to be ever sent, I am sure that anthropologists would be highly gratified. Indeed, the feeling of relief which our controversialists would undergo by relegating to the negro the interpretation of a few disputed points, induces me to press this question. Probably Mr. Burnard Owen thinks that the time may come when the Gaboon or the Bonny River may be the court of appeal to which all disputed points may be referred; that the words—*Gabona locuta est; causa finita est*—may be used by some future postulant for religious advice from the lips of erudite and whitey-brown Africans on the Equatorial Coast. Another source of doubt is that, in nearly every case, Mr. Owen has cited the facts which missionaries have stated in their own behalf, not those which dispassionate observers have described respecting them. The argument in favour of this procedure is one which I shall endeavour to dispose of. It is alleged that the testimony of the missionaries is as good as that of the traders. Now, whilst of course admitting that the testimony of an upright missionary may be more reliable than that of a dishonest trader in individual cases, still we must remember that in the case of the missionary there exist temptations to exaggeration to which the trader is not subject. The missionary has his annual report to make; the populace at home are ready to receive with avidity any statement of the success of his labours; and the Society who employs him are willing to afford him favourable support should he paint matters *couleur de rose* or to withdraw their assistance should the narratives of his labours be discouraging. The audience whom he has to satisfy, or to amuse, are seldom composed of persons famous for their geographical or anthropological knowledge; they rarely perform the thankless task of examining the missionary's course on the map; and few are in a position to criticise the statements, which in an amended form, his employers may lay before English society. The trader has no such inducements. He has his cargo to sell at the best price he

can, and the necessities which sale produces bring him into more contact with the natives than he who has merely to preach to them once a week. His employers at home desire from him no flaming accounts of the moral or mental degradation or of the improvement of the negroes, and he is left at leisure to observe what he pleases, and if he cares, to publish it when or how he likes. I have not thought it worth while in these remarks to notice the attacks which the inferior section of the press have made upon our Society. But I trust that none of our Fellows will care so little for the true advancement of the science of anthropology as to be deterred by these attacks from expressing their opinions. The task before us is to arrive at the truth, heedless of the consequences which its diffusion may produce on the prejudices of any one, and regardless of the diatribes of those who may feel the bitter disappointment of discovering that they have devoted their lives to the advancement of an unhappy delusion.

Mr. J. GOULD AVERY remarked that, at the opening of the discussion it might have been supposed that the missionary efforts had not been attended with any success. The subsequent speakers had brought forward evidence to prove that they had effected a great deal of good. He regretted that the Society should have placed itself in antagonism to the Christian religion.

The PRESIDENT explained that the Society had done nothing of the kind, and that the Council had only permitted the discussion of the subject with a view to elucidate the truth.

Mr. AVERY in continuation said, that they had at all events given rise to much of the *odium theologicum*. It had been said by Mr. Reade of a black missionary preacher at Sierra Leone, that he had attempted to explain how the negro became a white man. Now that story appeared upwards of thirty years ago, and was to be found in Joe Miller. Something had been said of the success of missionary efforts in South Africa. He had a friend who laboured there for several years and, he reported that his success was most decided. It had been said that the missionaries were bad witnesses as to the success of their own efforts; but the fact that they were risking their lives in the cause was the best proof they could give that they were sincere. As to the assertion of the bad condition of the negroes at Sierra Leone, he must say that the negroes there were of a very low class—the lowest in all Africa; and yet they had heard that among them great success had been realised. The missionaries converted the negroes, but they taught them at the same time useful industry. He concluded by observing that he was exceedingly sorry that anything should have been said in that room that might be construed to be antagonistic to Christianity.

Mr. BENDYSHE said the object of that Society was to be “all things to all men” and to obtain truth from whatever quarter it presented itself. If the missionaries spoke truth they were the best friends of the Society. He thought himself that “*amicus Christus, magis amica veritas.*”

The Rev. DUNBAR HEATH said he rose to calm a slight degree of asperity which had arisen during the discussion. He hoped they were all truly unprejudiced witnesses. The resident merchants on the

west coast of Africa did not complain of the missionaries because they attempted to introduce Christianity; but what they said was, that they had not introduced enough of Christianity. That at least was the feeling in his mind on listening to the evidence of the facts brought before them. As to the complaint of the three methods by which it had been attempted to introduce Christianity among the negroes, that was a question which had best be reserved for the future, and not be entered upon on that occasion. He hoped that there was no opposition in that Society to the opinion of the great practical good done by Christianity. Those who had objected to the efforts of the missionaries had not said that Christianity had done any harm.

The Rev. WM. ARTHUR said that he belonged to that untruthful class of missionaries. He should be sorry to think that commerce and Christianity were antagonistic. True, some traders opposed missions, but the majority did not; and missionaries did not deprecate a scrutiny of the respective characters of their opponents and supporters. Much had been said about the money spent. If this Society had any disposition to examine the question in a scientific spirit (and with profound submission to the Chair, he would ask what scientific fact had that night been attested, what scientific conclusions drawn?), if they were disposed to inquire into facts capable of positive test and proof, he would submit this question, Whether the ultimate economic effect of moneys spent on missions was not to open new markets for England? What was the point in doubt as to the negro? Was it whether his intellect was capable of accepting the doctrines of Christianity? That has passed out of the province of guesses, or individual testimony, into that of demonstrated fact. It is as much matter of historical evidence that the negro intellect can accept Christianity, as that the Anglo-Saxon can. Gentlemen say no; but I challenge them to name a form of Christianity, Roman Catholic or Protestant, even down to minute shades and varieties, of which we shall not produce a negro disciple. I have seen negro Christians of different tribes, seen them live, seen them die; lived in the same house with them, seen them study, seen them tempted, heard them preach, and marked their whole career. There was my friend Joseph Wright, a negro whose parentage no physiologist could challenge; having witnessed his thirst for knowledge, his progress, his labours, his conduct to his mother, his letters to his children, I should set him in presence of any gentleman who called the negro an "unpleasant animal", and say, "He is as much a man as you are". A gentleman has said, it does not matter whether Confucius borrowed from Christianity, or Christianity from Confucius. To a philosopher it would matter much. Quoting from Confucius some precepts resembling those of the Gospel, he reminded us that he lived five hundred years before Christ. But how long did Moses live before Confucius? Those precepts, wonderful in Confucius, were the A B C of Old Testament morals; and the most elevated and comprehensive expression of all was not of Confucius or Christ, but of Moses, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself". That gentleman declared there was much good moral teaching in the Koran. Of course there is. It borrows wholesale from both

Old Testament and New, but often deteriorates what it transplants. Much has been said of the success of Mohammedan missions in Africa. On whom do they gain? on Christians? No; but on pagans. Mohammedanism has so much of the Bible in it that it is stronger than paganism. But look at it where it touches upon Christianity. On the East it retires before Protestant England; on the North, before Greek Russia; on the West, before Roman France. *La Turquie périclit* *faute de Turques*. Wherever it touches on the boundaries of Christianity its frontiers fall in.

DR. UNDERHILL (Secretary to the Baptist Missionary Society), said he hoped to have heard a scientific discussion of the question, but he had been disappointed. With regard to the assertions that had been made that Islamism was better adapted to the improvement of the negroes, that it had made much greater progress than Christianity, and that the dogmas of Christianity ought not to be taught to savage races, he must confess that the gentlemen who made those assertions seemed to him to exhibit as strong a bias *against* Christianity, as missionaries were said to show in favour of the views they hold. It had been shown in that meeting that the testimony of Capt. Burton was of little value, as he had several times contradicted himself. With regard to the opinion that the money expended on missions had better be spent on the destitute population of our own country, he referred to the labours of a Christian community of the neighbouring district of St. Giles, which, while giving some £500 a year to foreign missions, expended more than £100 a year to raise and benefit the degraded inhabitants of that noted locality. It would be well for the censors of missionaries to follow that example.

The PRESIDENT said he had listened for two nights to the various speakers without saying a word. He had felt annoyed at the irregular and unscientific form which the discussion had taken. As to the accusation that the Society seemed to be prejudiced in the matter, he could only say that his wish was merely to know the truth. He was prepared to listen to both sides; and during that evening the speakers in favour of the missionaries had been more numerous than those against them. He regretted that the discussion had not been more philosophic. It should certainly have been more specific, and taken into consideration in connection with the different races of man. The President expressed his regret at the accusations and recriminations that had taken place during the discussion: he was sorry to hear Mr. Owen speak of Mr. Reade and Captain Burton in his paper as men who only believed in themselves. Such remarks ought not to have been uttered. As to the condition of the natives of Sierra Leone, he believed that the creoles there were the worst savages in Africa. The question was, were the missionaries to blame for not having improved them? From all that had been said in the course of the discussion he must admit he could not form an opinion on the subject. The only positive evidence they had was that relating to Gaboon; and they had it from the authority of a missionary himself that during twenty-three years of unceasing labour he had not made

a single genuine convert. That testimony came from the Rev. W. Walker, an American missionary. It had been said that this subject ought only to be discussed by professed Christians, but he contended that the subject could only be properly discussed by men of science, who were bound to look on all creeds in the same manner, and it was from a scientific point of view alone it could be considered in that Society. With regard to Captain Burton's letter which had been quoted, he thought that not much weight should be attached to it, as it was merely a complimentary letter, for which they had to thank the good-nature of Captain Burton. He very much regretted that matters had been introduced into the discussion which were not at all relevant. Whether, for instance, the precepts of Christianity had been borrowed from Confucius, or whether Christianity is likely to become extinct in this country, were questions with which that Society had nothing whatever to do.

Mr. J. M. HARRIS made the following reply :* With reference to the remarks made by Mr. M'Arthur, all I can say is, if the friends and supporters of missionary societies are satisfied, and consider the doubtful saving of one negro soul an adequate return for the sacrifice of hundreds of valuable European lives, and the expenditure of millions of money, I can only pity the white man, and must regret that the white man is reckoned of so little value as compared with the negro. Upon these terms I cannot attempt to argue with this gentleman; and I must leave it for some more able person to carry on an argument where one side starts with so low a value of human beings of his own class. I really think we should start fair, and value white and negro at least the same. I regret exceedingly that the opinions and facts stated by Mr. Reade, Captain Burton, Mr. Walker, myself, and other gentlemen of the same opinions on this subject, should give offence, and call forth such very strong remarks; but I am aware it is an unthankful office to prove to any person that his cherished theories are wrong; and it is also dangerous to interfere in any way with vested rights. Now, gentlemen, I suppose the staunchest supporters of missions, and the most ardent advocates for missionary efforts, will allow it is for the benefit of the negro that missionaries are sent to Africa, and not to create employment for Europeans. I uphold, if they are true in this profession, and are not acting in support of a clique, that they would be anxious to hear fair and unbiased arguments on this subject, to enable them to make their efforts as beneficial as possible to the negro, and the expenditure of lives and money (if it is necessary to make it) should bring the largest possible amount of real benefit and improvement. We all know that a reformer attempting to reduce the salaries or privileges of any branch of the public service, will meet with strong opposition from those with whose interests he is interfering. I may be answered by this argument—that missionaries do not look for their reward here, but hereafter; but I cannot reconcile this profession, when I think of the following things. It is strange that when a missionary is fit for his work—that

is to say, acclimatised, accustomed to the natives, and just becoming what men of other professions would call efficient—he leaves the coast and gets some comfortable living at home, as secretary to the society, or something of that description, and leaves the mission station to some younger man, who has to get over the acclimatising (and which will take him some time) before he can be of use. This looks to me very much like looking after a few of the good things here, as well as what they expect hereafter. And it is also very rarely the case that you see men giving up a good living at home to go out as a missionary, excepting occasionally to a bishopric. This surely cannot be for want of good men amongst the clergymen of England. It appears that the mission station is the stepping-stone, and much similar to the foreign stations of all branches of the public service; and the more dangerous the station, the more rapid the promotion. In reading the paper by our President, on *The Negro's Place in Nature*, I find he quotes from Dr. Clarke of Sierra Leone, and several other writers and travellers, the whole of whom give almost the same opinions as those given by myself and others of the tabooed classes of travellers and traders. Dr. Clarke resided many years in Sierra Leone, and his professional services as colonial surgeon would have given him every opportunity of becoming acquainted with the people as they are, and not as they are painted. Every person who knows Dr. Clarke, would say that he would be more likely to be biased in favour of the Sierra Leone men than otherwise; but read what he says about them, and I think you will find his description of their characters much worse than anything in my remarks. As to the remarks made by Mr. Owen, I am not allowed to reply to them. Mr. Nichol and his *Greek Testaments*, the paradise of Wilberforce and Regent; let any person who knew those places ten years since go there now, and say if he finds those places progressed or otherwise. In conclusion, all I can say is, if any one wishes to get a true statement of facts, let them send out an unbiased person to report for them. He must not go to Sierra Leone and take what he sees at the churches, chapels, and schools as a fair test, but go to any government officer, who can show him the real life of Sierra Leone, and not the superficial—and I am certain he will return with the same conviction as Colonel Orde, and all who go there, that the worst characters in Africa will be found amongst the Sierra Leone people; and, instead of their being an example to the natives on the other parts of the coast, they are always mistrusted and looked upon with suspicion wherever they go. I uphold, to correct this state of things it is necessary to change the system of education. The present system has had a long trial, and failed; then why not try reform, and look for some plan that will give better results?

Mr. BURNARD OWEN then said: * Mr. President and gentlemen,—The few points in the speeches of the opposition, which I had marked for reply, have been so ably and conclusively handled by my friend Mr. Reddie, that I find but little remains for me to say. Mr. Dibley, in quoting the extract I gave from the Colonial Blue Book (1863) of

the Sierra Leone Census of 1860, appears to have slightly misunderstood the classification, which might have been more explicit. Where it says "15,180 were Methodists, etc., and 12,954 Church people", it would have been more correct to have added the other denominations, who form a large proportion of the Christian population under this head, conspicuous amongst whom we find the Baptists. I certainly did not intend it to be supposed that I limited Baptist and Wesleyan successes to South Carolina; for wherever they have laboured amongst the negroes, they have been eminently successful. We might be puzzled to trace the connection between missionary labours and the relations existing between debtor and creditor, but information, and even comfort, often comes from very unlikely sources; and certainly Dr. Charnock will raise the drooping spirits of many a despairing creditor, when he authoritatively assures us that "debts contracted in this world will be paid in the next". A consolation this will be to those who otherwise would see little or no chance of their claims being liquidated. We are told Mohammedan converts rarely revert to their old faith, but we were not informed whether their lapses were likely to be communicated to us; nor am I aware of any published statistics of the Mohammedan Missionary Society. Capt. Burton has declined for himself and friends what he calls the "confessional"; but at any rate we have a right to know the bias a creed, or the want of one, would naturally give to their views. Every man being said to have some religion, I suppose these gentlemen would not wish us to imagine they are different from their neighbours in this respect. Far be it from me to hold up to ridicule the too apparent infirmities of any man; but when Mr. Reade can so far forget himself as to apply the term "religious ruffianism" to those who prefer the Bible of their fathers to the crude insolence of juvenile infidelity, we cannot refrain from a passing smile at such assurance, though we are painfully struck with the mental obliquity which seeks to make a scientific society the medium for publishing opinions which charity alone can induce us to believe are attributable, as his friend Captain Burton apologetically expresses it, to the warmth of ingenuous youth. To state that every guinea sent to Africa is defrauding our own people in England, is, to say the least, evincing little acquaintance with facts; for, if we compare the list of subscribers to our missions, it will be found that those giving most liberally for foreign evangelization, equally support home efforts; whilst a comparison will show that the subscribers' names on the list are almost identical, and their charity as world-wide as the ignorance and idolatry they endeavour to remove. Civilization to the negro can only be effected by intimate association with the Anglo-Saxon race; and, when we are taunted with the small results, it should be remembered how few are the labourers, and how wide the field of heathenism in which they toil. It would be uncourteous not to notice the remarks of our versatile and voluminous friend Mr. Carter Blake, who starts with the assertion that "a Fellow of the Anthropological Society has a perfect right to say what he chooses." Evidently this has been acted upon before the permission now granted officially. Mr. Blake says that each side in the discussion has pre-

sented as few facts as possible, endeavouring to throw the onus on their opponents. Whether this be correct I leave others to judge; but I do not see that Mr. Blake has himself remedied the defect he points out. Nor must he forget that the strong testimony, drawn from entirely independent sources, which I have cited in answer to Mr. Reade, has been left unquestioned by that gentleman's supporters, who have studiously avoided a discussion on the facts or figures I advanced; thus by their tacit acquiescence acknowledging the indisputableness of my assertions. Knowing Mr. Blake as an indefatigable zoologist, in which science order and arrangement are vital essentials, I am surprised at the difficulty I find of deciding upon the bearing of his remarks to-night, which present to my mind a picture of that extraordinarily incongruous Australian animal which, it is said, after nearly breaking the heart of one naturalist in the vain endeavour to classify him, was in despair at last styled *Ornithorhynchus paradoxus*. Whilst regretting for the Society the present discussion, I cannot but rejoice at the results to the missionaries. I feel convinced it will be productive of good to them, and give increased energy to their supporters. It may also induce many, who have hitherto paid slight attention to the subject, to regard more closely the noble acts of that little army—those brave soldiers of the Cross, before whom the serried ranks of the Crescent shall be scattered. As I am not aware that any missionary is a member of this Society, I have taken the prominent part which more properly belonged to them, in repelling Mr. Reade's accusations. As it was no question of science which ushered in this discussion, so it is no question of sectarianism which prompts the course I have pursued. As Mr. Reade's paper, to my mind, bore but one construction, that of an open, unequivocal attack on Christianity, so I as a Churchman have endeavoured to meet it; and to my fellow-Christians—Presbyterians, Wesleyans, or Baptists—I can only express my regret that the task did not devolve upon a more able, if not a more willing, champion. Mr. President and gentlemen, you have now heard the accusation and the defence. You may sum up; but the verdict is not delivered here; it lies beyond this meeting; it lies beyond this Society; it lies in the hand of a public whose decision I can with confidence await. Οὐ γὰρ ἐυνάμεθα τι κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας.

The PRESIDENT announced that, at the next meeting, the Bishop of Natal would read the paper he had promised, on "Missionary Efforts in South Africa". After the paper there would be a discussion, and then the subject must close.

The meeting then adjourned.
